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# THE ANCESTOR

A Quarterly Review of County and  
Family History, Heraldry  
and Antiquities

NUMBER I

APRIL 1902

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Questions will be answered, and advice will be given, as far as may be possible, upon all points relating to the subjects with which THE ANCESTOR is concerned.

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ROUNDEL OF STAINED GLASS WITH ARMS OF LYTE AND HORSEY.



## SOME ANECDOTES OF THE HARRIS FAMILY

**T**HE writer of the following pages feels that a little explanation and a short apology is perhaps needed in presenting an account of his own ancestors to the general reader, and he trusts that the somewhat personal title of this paper may not forbid of its perusal.

Two views entirely contradictory to one another are always held respecting any account of a particular family written by one of its members: the first is that the account may be interesting and that, at all events, it is probably well authenticated in every detail, and is therefore worth reading; the second, that the writer, blinded by that personal and 'egotistic' interest which is inseparable from human nature, has inflicted, or has attempted to inflict, upon the public a collection of facts and fictions, truths and lies, all of which are equally uninteresting and equally unimportant to that reading public. In this case however the writer trusts that the former of these two views may be the one adopted, with the following additional qualifications moreover—that it is not here intended to write the history, pure and simple, of a single family, but that a family, which represents to us so much of English life in its past generations, and which through its members has been of some service to the nation in its time, may be the means of reviving for us the memory of men and things long since buried in the dust of ages and hidden in the almost impenetrable gloom that ever hovers o'er the path taken by retreating Time.

In these days of hurry and bustle, of hastening hither and thither, of railways, telegrams, and an unrestricted press, when invention upon invention renders life more luxurious and when, as a nation, we are every day tending to become more and more cosmopolitan, it is sometimes truly pleasing to picture to ourselves the lives which our ancestors lived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to try and think their thoughts and to imagine ourselves (if it be possible) deprived of all the means of rapid motion, rapid communication, and

the power of unbridled criticism in affairs political, which were not theirs.

In all countries great political movements must of necessity alter the conditions of social life, and it may safely be said that the French Revolution and its immediate results influenced social life in England far more than is generally supposed.

The close of the eighteenth century saw England involved in an almost deadly struggle for existence—for out of the ashes of France's fallen monarchy there had arisen a foe in the person of Napoleon Buonaparte—than whom England has never had one more determined for her overthrow.

War, it is said, is good for the internal life of a nation, and it must be admitted that the wars which we waged with Napoleon brought about very real and lasting changes in our system of political thought, in our society, and roused us *as a people* from our national lethargy.

The reader may ask what has this diversion to do with the stated object of this paper : to which the answer is—that the last part of the eighteenth century must be considered to have been the close of one of the most interesting epochs in the domestic, social and literary history of our country, and as such deserves our special attention. Just as the great Constitutional Revolution of 1688 marks the time when the life of the Court ceased to be the life of the nation—so the opening of the nineteenth century announced that the rule of a proud aristocracy and of corrupt municipalities was at an end—henceforth *the people* must not be forgotten. Whether it was for the better or the worse it is not the object of this paper to try and demonstrate.

The lives and letters of the members of the Harris family illustrate very fairly well for us the state of things alluded to in the foregoing paragraphs ; they give us a perfectly natural and unfringed account of events social, literary and political, which fill the pages of subsequently-written histories, biographies and other works of a retrospective character, and which are only too often marred by the personal bias of the author.

The more important members of the Harris family who flourished during the latter half of the eighteenth century, their immediate relations and friends, were all either Members of Parliament, public servants or men of the world ; they were likewise imbued with strong social, literary and musical tastes,



JAMES, FIRST EARL OF MALMESBURY.

*After the Painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.*





which not only brought them into close contact but, in several cases, into an intimate friendship with the leading men of the day. The names of such men as the Grenvilles, the Pitts, Lord North, Lord Shelburne, Eden Lord Auckland, the Elliotts—Gilbert and Hugh—David Garrick, Gibbon the historian, and last, but by no means least, that of the great Handel himself are constantly to be found among the more familiar of those mentioned in the Harris papers.

There is at Heron Court a large number of family letters, despatches and diaries, carefully preserved and methodically ordered, many of which were published by the third Earl of Malmesbury, and have since then ranked high among original authorities for the history of the eighteenth century.

The chief writers and recipients of these were James Harris, 'the amiable philosopher of Salisbury,' M.P. for Christchurch, Hants, a Lord of the Admiralty and afterwards of the Treasury, Secretary and Comptroller to Queen Charlotte, consort of George III., and his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Harris, and their son James, first Earl of Malmesbury. Others too there were who have contributed much that is very interesting and entertaining to this epistolary collection, but their names are far too many to enumerate here—suffice it to mention the following, who form the more immediate family circle: the Lord and Lady Shaftesbury of the day, cousins to James Harris of Salisbury; Thomas Harris, a master in Chancery, and the Rev. William Harris, Chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, brothers to the said James Harris, and therefore uncles of the first Lord Malmesbury; Edward Hooper of Heron Court, M.P. and Chairman of Customs, a very near kinsman of the Harrises and the last of an old county family who made Lord Malmesbury his heir, as well as a host of public and well known men, many of whom have already been noticed and several of whom also form the subject of anecdote later on.

The Harrises came of an old Wiltshire family—at least old when placed in the strong light of the new scientific methods of genealogical research; for them no pedigree had ever been 'faked,' for them no attempt had ever been made to ascribe a descent from demi-gods and mythical heroes; simply they had lived, and simply they had died.

The family of Harris is first heard of in the year 1561, when in the July of that date one William Harris espoused a

youthful widow, Mrs. Cicely Sherne, who bore to him a son and heir, Thomas by name, who dwelt at Orcheston St. George in the county of Wilts, and dying left a son, by Praxid his wife, called James, baptized October 6, 1605. For several reasons this James Harris is rather an important person in the family pedigree, since having departed from the paternal roof, he migrated to New Sarum (Salisbury) and, marrying the daughter of the bishop of that diocese, settled there. And there too, for four generations, lived his descendants, without apparently any wish 'to leave in life or in death' that most beautiful of cathedral cities: for while they occupied the same house in its close during their lives, so also their bodies found rest within its great church, when death had come to each in his turn.

Of the above-mentioned James Harris however not much more of interest is known, save that he bequeathed a distinctive christian name to his family, which with only two exceptions has been successively borne by its heads ever since; and one more fact yet about this old James Harris. His hat, a high-crowned headpiece, hardened and stiffened by the flight of years, utterly devoid of all colour—if any colour it ever had—hangs in the old hall at Heron Court. This hat he wore in the year 1643, a year gravely important in English history; but whether he actively espoused the cause of King or Parliament it is by no means clearly known, though the tradition clinging to this hat—added to its form—leaves little room for doubt that he sided with the party opposed to Charles I. Moreover, too, the Harrises were always staunchly Whig, and it was only when the first Lord Malmesbury threw in his lot with the Duke of Portland, Burke and the other leaders of 'the old Whig party' in 1794, that their loyalty to 'Whiggism' was transferred to the younger Pitt and to the great principles of which he was the champion.

Thomas, son of this James Harris, married for his second wife Joan, daughter of Sir Wadham Wyndham of Norrington, one of the judges of the King's Bench in the reign of Charles II., a scion of the ancient and noble house of Egremont.

Joan Wyndham, who thus, in 1673, became the wife of Thomas Harris of New Sarum, has left behind her, not only a portrait of herself, but also a quaint and, from its age, curious account-book, an extract or two from which it has been thought worth while to give:—



JAMES HARRIS, M.P., SECRETARY AND COMPTROLLER TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

*After the Painting by Joseph Highmore.*





# THE ANCESTOR

Jeny Fox came to me at Candelmas 1675, her wages is 3<sup>li</sup> a yeare.  
 John Bennett came to mee at Lady Day 1677, his wages is 4<sup>li</sup> a yeare and  
 a livery cote.

Septem ye 28th 1677, pd John 2os. for a quarters wages.

Mary Branton came to mee at Lady Day 1677, her wages is 3<sup>li</sup> a yeare.

Pd John halfe a yeare's wages due at Christ . '77      2   0   0

Pd Mary Branton halfe a yeare's wages due at  
 Mickelmas 1677 . . . . . i   10   0

All my expences begininge ye 21th of July 1674

a yrd. flanell for Jene . . . . .	0	i	10
3 custard dishes . . . . .	0	0	9
a letter . . . . .	0	0	2
My brother Wadham . . . . .	0	i	0
a dozen of Suger at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d . . . . .	0	6	6
A Suger lofe at 10 p. l. . . . .	0	4	7
pd. for 4 bottles of clarit . . . . .	0	4	0
a qrt of Sack . . . . .	0	2	0
a pnt of whit wine . . . . .	0	i	0
cowcomere . . . . .	0	1	0
stockings for Jane . . . . .	0	0	2
ye poor . . . . .	0	0	2
for Anchoves . . . . .	0	0	6
gave ye mads at Norrington . . . . .	0	2	0
bread . . . . .	0	0	2

Feb ye 27th 1679 $\frac{1}{2}$

for 4 bushelles of oats . . . . . 0   2   4

July ye 10th

for 4 bushells of oats . . . . . 0   7   6

A whit Quilt . . . . . 3   10   0

Aperell ye 22nd 1682

pd for Meteriall for william Cote . . . . . 0   17   0

for Making willi-

-ams Cote . . . . . 0   5   0

two Muggs . . . . . 0   1   0

March ye 30th 1682 pd. Margaret her

wages for half a yeare . . . . . i   10   0

ye same time pd. William half a

year's wages . . . . . 3   0   0

April ye 22th

1682 gave to ye servants

for fairings . . . . . 0   6   0

ribbin . . . . . 0   3   0

poor body . . . . . 0   0   1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Sweet Meatts . . . . . 0   5   0

What I disburs in rats (rates) and payments for  
 this house

Since my father died (father-in-law)

pd Mr Carpenter

for disbanding ye Army . . . . . 0   3   0

March ye 29			
pd Mr. Ormong to ye poor ending			
Lady Day			
1680 . . . . .		o	6 6
Lad out & spent in ye year 1685			
as by ye house book apereth to be . . . . .	104	14	10
pd. as by ye house book apereth . . . . .	o	86	04 05
wood & cole . . . . .	o	10	12 8
Malt . . . . .	oo	5	i8 7½
in all . . . . .	207	10	6½

The prices quoted against the articles therein mentioned, especially the amounts relating to the servants' wages, are somewhat interesting; and while it will doubtless be noticed that the figures entered against many of the various commonplace items of every-day expenditure are not in the least excessive according to our own modern standard, those which stand for wages will strike us as being ridiculously low and hardly to be credited when compared with the former. This discrepancy however requires but little explanation, when it is remembered that money was in those days worth many times its present value, and therefore not only do the wage figures, upon the basis of this simple calculation, represent a much higher sum than that which they actually appear to do, but further it is these very items of ordinary and every day necessity which, in reality, when estimated upon the same scale, cost our ancestors much more than they would have paid for them nowadays.

The married life of Joan Harris (born Wyndham) however was destined to be a short one, for the untimely death of her husband, Mr. Thomas Harris, at the early age of thirty-five—very shortly before that of his father—left her a lonely widow and the mother of two fatherless boys after but five years of connubial bliss. Death, too, soon robbed her of the younger of these children. Stricken with the weight of her great sorrows and in the full measure of her affliction, this good lady has duly recorded the same in the Harris family Bible, an old volume which has been carefully treasured and religiously kept up to date since 1561 (the book itself was printed in 1583). She died in 1734 at the advanced age of eighty-four, having survived her husband, both her sons and one daughter-in-law.

James, the elder son and only surviving child of the said Thomas Harris by the said Joan, his wife, although he succeeded at a tender age to the family fortunes, showed no



HANDEL.

*After the Painting by Philip Mercier.*





inclination to break away from the sameness of existence which had become almost hereditary in his family. Like his father, twice he woo'd and twice he wed ; by his first wife, Catherine Cocks, niece of the Lord Chancellor Somers and sister to the first Countess of Hardwicke, one daughter only was born to him, who grew up and became the wife of Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham, Bart., but her birth was her mother's death ; his second wife, the Lady Elizabeth Ashley, daughter of Anthony, second Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom he was married in 1707, bore to him four children—one daughter, who died in babyhood, and three sons, all of whom have already been mentioned, viz., James, Thomas and William Harris. And here we come to that point when the family history becomes something more than a mere setting down and recording of births, deaths and marriages, all of which may be very engrossing to the real student of genealogical research or to members of the Harris family, but which are probably dry and unprofitable to the ordinary and casual reader. The Lady Elizabeth Harris was the mother of a distinguished scholar and public servant, and the grandmother of one of the most distinguished diplomatists of the eighteenth century. Whether Lady Elizabeth was herself a woman of great ability it is impossible to judge, not only because the material is wanting from which any opinion could be formed, but because ladies of her generation had so little opportunity of doing aught else than to lead a dignified and dependent existence before their work-frames, never venturing much abroad unless attended by an escort of their nearest male relatives. That she came of a talented family however is beyond dispute, for her grandfather, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, was one of England's most illustrious Lord Chancellors and two of her brothers, the third Earl (the noble author of *Characteristics*) and Mr. Maurice Ashley (the translator of *Xenophon*) were men of no mean parts.

She appears to have possessed a rather delicate constitution, and after her husband's death, which occurred when her eldest son was only twenty-two, lived a life of great retirement, spending many of her days at Bath, that place where once the old and the young, the solemn and the gay, the infirm and those in all the full vigour of health loved to congregate. Nevertheless, be things what they may, it was Lady Elizabeth's eldest son James who brought about a radical change in the

Harris family life and habits, and it is hoped that the short account which is here given of the society in which he himself, his son and his two brothers were prominent figures, may enable the reader to carry his imagination back to that old-world life which our ancestors lived during the latter half of the eighteenth century, to those picturesque days of wine and song, of stately minuet and country dance, of true love-making and of much high-playing, of low bows and dainty curtsies, of fine dressing and courtly speaking on the part both of maid and swain—such manners and customs, such sayings and doings as are best revived for us in Sheridan's immortal plays.

It is not pretended to claim for each Harris any peculiar distinction. The eldest of the brothers, James (born 1709), and his son, the first Lord Malmesbury, were undoubtedly brilliant men, and from the tastes which they cultivated and the friends which they made, the younger brothers, Thomas and William, born respectively in 1711 and 1714, are rather attractive personalities, but that is all that is put forward on their behalf.

James Harris married in July, 1745, and it is about this time that the regular family correspondence begins. This year was a critical one for England; it saw the landing of Charles Edward Stuart, the young Pretender, upon British soil, and his audacious march into the very heart of George II.'s kingdom; it saw us in open hostility with France, and joining in the general warfare then raging upon the continent.

The Harrises and their relations were all strong supporters of the Hanoverian succession, and it is amusing to read their comments upon the successes and failures of the rebel arms. Lord Shaftesbury writing in September, 1745, to his cousin, Mr. James Harris, says:<sup>1</sup> 'I find the affair in Scotland grows serious'; and again further on in the same letter, 'it is very happy the nation in general is so well affected to the King, otherwise there would be the greatest danger.' It is hard at this distance to appreciate this great danger, but at the period at which these letters were written the Guelphs had not long occupied the English throne, and there were many who were disgusted with the strong German sympathies of the first two Georges and with the flagrant immorality of their courts.

In the same month, the Rev. William Harris, who was

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of the first Earl of Malmesbury, his family and friends* (Bentley).

chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, informs his brother, Mr. James Harris,<sup>1</sup> 'that affairs go very ill in Scotland, where the rebels have attacked and defeated the King's troops under Sir John Cope.' This defeat is explained in a later paragraph of the same letter, for 'it is reported that two regiments of dragoons Sir John Cope had with him behaved shamefully, were put into confusion upon the enemy coming up, broke their ranks and made off as fast as they could.'

Lord Shaftesbury again writing tells us that <sup>2</sup>—

Mr. Pitt moved for an Address, in very respectful terms, to advise the King to recall the troops (which, by the way, all are horse, and consequently the fittest to be employed in quelling rebellions and repelling descents) all from Flanders at this perilous conjuncture, to protect us from immediate danger. 'This,' he states, however, 'was eluded' and he adds with some irony—'not a Tory on either side speaking.'

The reader is already aware that the Harrises were almost bigoted partisans of the House of Brunswick, and he will therefore not feel surprised to come across in their letters the following epithets applied to the followers of the younger Stuart:<sup>3</sup>—

It is really a shame upon our whole nation that such a vile crew of unheard-of wretches should of a sudden enter the kingdom and penetrate into the very heart of it and retire back to their mountains again and there bid us defiance. I doubt there has been some mismanagement on our side.

Such are the invectives which come from the pen of the parson of the Harris family, who was then residing in town with his episcopal chief, the Bishop of Durham, at that prelate's house in Grosvenor Square, and whence are dated most of his letters at this stirring period, showing a wise discretion on the part of his right reverend lordship to remain on in London, away from all the dangers which were threatening his northern diocese; and these views seem to have been thoroughly shared by his chaplain, 'the Rev. William,' who was also rector of Eggescliffe, or Excliffe, in that see; for corresponding with his sister-in-law in February, 1746, he relates how perfectly he agreed with her,<sup>4</sup>

that there are many circumstances at present extremely dissuasive with regard to my journey into the north, and yet now the Duke's arrival there has given a most happy turn to our affairs, and we have pretty good reason to think ourselves nearly secure as to our Scotch neighbours. I believe I shall at last struggle through the hardships of bad roads and bad weather in order to make my little flock a visit, this being the only opportunity I can expect this great while for the purpose.

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of the first Earl of Malmesbury* (Bentley). <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



'The Duke' referred to in this letter was his Royal Highness William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, the second son of King George II., who two months after this date finally crushed the followers of 'bonnie Prince Charlie' at Culloden.

Of some of the events which followed, and which were closely connected with the defeat of the young Pretender, we must leave it to the 'legal member' of the Harris family to give us a description. The letters of Mr. Thomas Harris, a master in Chancery, and the second of the three brothers, are few and far between. He was a busy man, and presumably had much less time to write than his 'gossiping' clergyman-brother, 'the Rev. William,' who appears moreover to have been a special favourite with his sister-in-law, 'Mrs. James', to whom most of his letters were addressed.

Thomas Harris, all the same, has left us a business-like contemporary account of the trial of that arch-hypocrite and cunning plotter, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. It would be entirely out of place in these pages to glance even hastily at the career of this remarkable personage; suffice it to say that he was one of the most extraordinary characters of his time. Shamefully unscrupulous and criminally dishonest, Lord Lovat stands out from among the adherents of Charles Edward Stuart as one who deserves no pity. If any man ever tried to run with the proverbial hare and hunt with the metaphorical hounds it was he. Thomas Harris, writing from Lincoln's Inn in March, 1747, informs his sister-in-law that every one is<sup>1</sup> 'taken up with Lord Lovat's trial.' . . . 'I was there yesterday,' he says, 'but cannot pretend to give you a full account of the ceremony, which might take up a volume in the Heralds' books.'

Lord Lovat, true to his nature, procrastinated much, raising every petty objection he possibly could, one of which at once enlisted 'the lawyer's sympathy'; for goes on Thomas Harris:<sup>2</sup>—

Lord Lovat spoke a good deal of the harshness of not having counsel to help him, being so old and infirm; but the law being against him (though, I think, most unreasonably) it was not allowed.

Thomas Harris however will doubtless possess a far greater attraction for the reader when regarded in the light of his long and close intimacy with one of the greatest musicians of the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of the first Earl of Malmesbury* (Bentley).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*





MASTER JAMES HARRIS (AFTERWARDS FIRST EARL OF MALMESBURY).

*After the Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.*



eighteenth century. George Frederick Handel was a constant guest and welcome visitor to the family mansion of the Harrises, and although past the zenith of his great composing powers at the time when his name so frequently appears in the Harris letters—as well as burdened with the weight of pecuniary failures and physical infirmities—he still represented in ‘the afternoon and evening of his life’ a grand and solitary figure, in whom interest is rather increased than lessened, because notwithstanding his almost transcendental genius the full measure of success had always been denied him.

Handel’s health seems to have been the object of much concern and anxiety to all the members of the Harris family, as also to their relatives, the Shaftesburys; but still it was the second brother Thomas, the master in Chancery, who more especially enjoyed the confidence and friendship of the great composer.

Thomas Harris is not to be compared with his much more gifted elder brother James, who besides being a very learned Greek and Latin scholar was also a passionate lover of music, and wrote a critical treatise on harmony; yet, as will be seen presently, it was the younger, not the elder, brother who in the end was most closely associated with the blind musician. Handel was wont sometimes to take part in amateur concerts at the house of the elder Harris, and he seems to have regarded it as a place where for a while he could rest his wearied brain and be at peace. After what has been so far written it may not be altogether uninteresting to quote from the family letters a few of the references made in these to him and to the condition of his mind. Lady Shaftesbury, in March, 1745, writing from London to James Harris, tells him that<sup>1</sup> ‘repeated colds’ and her ‘natural propensity to stay at home’ had kept her much indoors since she came to town; but then there follows an almost affectionate allusion to Handel:—

However [so runs her letter], my constancy to poor Handel got the better of this and my indolence, and I went last Friday to ‘Alexander’s Feast’; but it was such a melancholy pleasure, as drew tears of sorrow to see the great though unhappy Handel, dejected, wan and dark, sitting by, not playing on the harpsichord, and to think how his life had been spent by being overplied in music’s cause. I was sorry to find the audience so insipid and tasteless (I may add unkind) not to give the poor man the comfort of applause; but affectation and conceit cannot discern or attend to merit.

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of the first Earl of Malmesbury* (Bentley).

In August of the same year the Rev. William Harris, writing to his sister-in-law, mentions having 'met Mr. Handel a few days since in the street,' and then continues :<sup>1</sup>—

[I] put him in mind who I was, upon which I am sure it would have diverted you to have seen his antic motions. He seemed highly pleased, and was full of inquiry after you and the Councillor [Mr. Thomas Harris]. I told him I was very confident that you expected a visit from him this summer. He talked much of his precarious state of health, yet he looks well enough. I believe you will have him with you ere long.

Subsequently Handel's health improved a little, for we are told by Lord Shaftesbury :<sup>2</sup>—

Poor Handel looks something better. I hope he will entirely recover in due time, though he has been a good deal disordered in his head.

February 7, 1746, saw the Rev. William Harris at Handel's house to hear a rehearsal of a 'new Occasional Oratorio,' of which he sends a most favourable notice to his sister-in-law and faithful correspondent ; and again four years later Lord Shaftesbury acquaints James Harris with the fact that he has seen Handel several times in London and 'never saw him so cool and well.'

The famous musician had been purchasing some fine pictures, and from Lord Shaftesbury's letter it must be gathered that Handel's health and fortunes had taken a decided turn for the better.

Among the pictures at Heron Court there is one of the great man painted by Philip Mercier, which Handel himself gave to his friend Mr. Thomas Harris about the year 1748, together with some manuscript-copies of his operas ; these MS. scores are now carefully preserved in the library there. The name of Thomas Harris, like those of many of Handel's admirers, does not appear at all in most of the works which have been published on the life and labours of the great composer, which may possibly help to make these allusions to him the more interesting ; but though this be so, Handel himself evidently reckoned Harris among those who formed the inner circle of his friends. If the reader likes to refer to Handel's will and its four codicils, which have more than once been printed and a copy of which the writer has<sup>3</sup> now<sup>4</sup> before him, he will see there the name of 'the Councillor.' Thomas Harris

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of the first Earl of Malmesbury* (Bentley).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Musical Times*, Dec. 14, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of Handel*, by Victor Schœlcher (Trubner & Co.).



was not only the first of two witnesses who attested Handel's last will and testament, but he also enjoys the unique distinction of having performed this same duty at the signing of three of these codicils, the technicalities of law forbidding him to take part in the attestation of the fourth and last—for under this codicil he himself became a beneficiary, and in it Handel bequeathed to him a legacy of £300. The following is the exact text of this bequest :—

'I give to Thomas Harris, Esquire, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, three hundred pounds'—and by a curious coincidence, Harriot, the daughter of George Amyand (afterwards Sir George Amyand, Bart.), to whom Handel bequeathed a legacy, and who was also one of the executors of his will, became in 1777 the wife of Thomas Harris' nephew, the first Lord Malmesbury. It only remains to be added that Thomas Harris married Catherine, sister to Sir Wyndham Knatchbull-Wyndham, fifth baronet, of Mersham Hatch in Kent, thus uniting by ties of marriage, for the third time within three generations, the Wyndham and Harris families. He predeceased his wife, without issue, in 1785.

Mention has frequently been made in the foregoing pages of James Harris, the eldest of the brothers, and it has already been stated that besides being a learned scholar and an ardent musician he was Member of Parliament for Christchurch in Hampshire, a Commissioner of the Admiralty and subsequently at the Treasury, as also towards the end of his life Secretary and Comptroller to the queen of George III. The life of the then head of the Harris family furnishes us with many interesting opportunities of becoming acquainted with several of the leading men of the day, as well as of acquiring some information concerning the opinions then generally held in England of events truly important in our national history. As a man of literature he mixed much in that talented coterie in which Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, David Garrick, Miss Hannah More and others of their sort shone so brilliantly. As a Member of Parliament, who enjoyed the private friendship and implicit confidence of his political chiefs, and as a holder of office, he is often to be found in the society of such eminent men as George Grenville and Lord North; while in later days, as a member of Queen Charlotte's household, he was privileged to receive many marks of the royal favour from her Majesty; and, in fact, it was at the joint request of both

king and queen that he was in the first instance appointed to this office. But it was almost exclusively as a man of letters rather than as 'a man of affairs' or as a courtier that James, or 'Hermes' Harris, was best known to his contemporaries; the nickname of 'Hermes,' by which he was more familiarly distinguished, having been given to him to celebrate his authorship of a certain treatise entitled *Hermes, or a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Universal Grammar*.

James Harris' works were much thought of in their day, and Bishop Lowth, speaking of the *Hermes*, pays it the following eulogium: 'The most beautiful example of analysis produced since the days of Aristotle.' This same treatise obtained such universal reputation that the French Directory ordered it to be translated and published in 1796; but this work, notwithstanding the very exalted position it once held among other works of a similar character, is now of no scientific value, the system upon which it was based, according to the modern theories of language, being quite erroneous, and it will probably only be discovered in the dark corners of some eighteenth century library, or, at a low price, in the shop of a secondhand bookseller. 'Sic transit gloria mundi.'

Boswell's life of the mighty Johnson contains several references to 'Hermes' Harris, but it is difficult to make out from them what was Johnson's real opinion of him.

Boswell (in 1773) says :<sup>1</sup>—

I spoke of Mr. Harris of Salisbury as being a very learned man, and in particular an eminent Grecian.

*Johnson* : I am not sure of that. His friends give him out as such, but I know not who of his friends are able to judge of it.

*Goldsmith* : He is what is much better; he is a worthy, humane man.

*Johnson* : Nay, sir, that is not to the purpose of our argument; that will as much prove that he can play upon the fiddle as well as Giardini, as that he is an eminent Grecian.

Again, in 1778, Boswell relates for us, in his clear concise manner, the substance of one of his many conversations with Johnson, in which Johnson passes the most ambiguously-worded judgment on 'Hermes' Harris. Boswell had been talking of an interview with a certain lady friend of his as to the merits of certain parts of Mr. Gibbon's history :<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, edited by Augustine Birrell, iii. 80 (Constable & Co.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 245.



SIR JAMES HARRIS, K.B., FIRST EARL OF MALMESBURY.

*After the Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.*





*Boswell* : Mr. Harris, who was present, agreed with her.

*Johnson* : Harris was laughing at her, sir. Harris is a sound, sullen scholar. He does not like interlopers. Harris however is a prig, and a bad prig.<sup>1</sup> I looked into his book and thought he did not understand his own system.

*Boswell* : He says plain things in a formal and abstract way, to be sure ; for, etc., etc.

Boswell himself seems to have joined in the general consensus of opinion as to James Harris' abilities, for in referring to a dinner and reception at the house of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson's biographer remarks<sup>2</sup> : 'When we went to the drawing-room there was a rich assemblage. Besides the company who had been at dinner there were Mr. Garrick, Mr. Harris of Salisbury, Dr. Percy, Dr. Burney, the Hon. Mrs. Cholmondeley, Miss Hannah More, etc., etc.' And the following conclusion to a conversation between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Harris is certainly characteristic :—

*Johnson* : . . . every substance [smiling to Mr. Harris] has so many accidents. To be distinct we must talk *analytically*. If we analyse language, we must speak of it *grammatically* ; if we analyse argument, we must speak of it *logically*.

Johnson survived Harris by four years, they having been born the same year, 1709 ; and Boswell did not publish the first edition of his life of the former until eleven years after Harris' death. The following extract therefore from the Harris letters may be somewhat appropriate here, though it contains anything but flattering comments on Dr. Johnson or Mr. Boswell :<sup>3</sup>—

. . . Tuesday, Dr. Johnson, his fellow-traveller through the Scotch Western Isles, Mr. Boswell and Sir Joshua Reynolds dined here. I have long wished to be in company with this said Johnson ; his conversation is the same as his writing, but a dreadful voice and manner. He is certainly amusing as a novelty, but seems not possessed of any benevolence, is beyond all description awkward, and more beastly in his dress and person than anything I ever beheld. He feeds nastily and ferociously, and eats quantities most unthankfully. As to Boswell, he appears a low-bred kind of being.

The above unkind criticism of Johnson and his satellite Boswell does not emanate from the brain of 'Hermes' Harris,

<sup>1</sup> Boswell comments on this remark of Johnson's in a footnote, which appears in the first edition of *The Life*, bearing special reference to this conversation, as follows : 'What my friend meant by these words concerning the amiable philosopher of Salisbury, I am at a loss to understand.'

<sup>2</sup> Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, ed. Augustine Birrell, iv. 258-9 (Constable & Co.).

<sup>3</sup> *Letters, first Earl of Malmesbury* (Bentley).

who was of far too 'amiable' a nature to have thought, much less to have written, such a philippic upon any man, especially upon men of worth, as were Samuel Johnson and his companion; it is Mrs. Harris, the wife of 'Hermes,' who sends to her only son, then in Berlin, this very unattractive, nay, almost repellent, picture of this strange prodigy and his shadow.

Mrs. Harris, wife of James Harris and mother of another James Harris, destined to be the first Lord Malmesbury, was certainly a woman of great strength of character, and her letters, which are very numerous, indicate a sequence of thought and power of logical expression—qualities rather alien to the feminine nature. She had been Elizabeth Clarke, only daughter and eventually sole heir of John Clarke of Sandford, in the county of Somerset, M.P. for Bridgwater. Five children were born to her, of whom three alone lived to grow up—one son, James, Lord Malmesbury, and two daughters, Catherine Gertrude, wife of the Honourable Frederick Robinson, a son of Thomas, first Lord Grantham, and Louisa Margaret, who died unmarried.

Mrs. Harris threw herself into the social and political life of her husband with an energy which well deserves commendation, and it is to her that thanks are due for many of by far the most amusing stories of people and things as told in the *Harris Papers*.

These anecdotes are in most instances racy, spirited and full of humour; though at times, be it said, they are unquestionably 'risky' in tone—a fault always pardonable when accompanied by genuine wit.

The first Lord Malmesbury was in every respect an affectionate and dutiful son to both his parents, but to his father he was bound by ties of a very special and life-long devotion.<sup>1</sup> 'To my father's precepts and example,' he states in a letter written in the year 1800, 'I owe every good quality I have. To *his* reputation, to *his* character, I attribute my more than common success in life. It was *these* that introduced me with peculiar advantage into the world; it was as *his* son that I first obtained friends and patrons.' And there is a ring of deep mournfulness in the latter part of the same letter when he goes on to say—

<sup>1</sup> *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, first Earl of Malmesbury* (Bentley), vol. i. p. vii.



SIR JAMES HARRIS, K.B., FIRST EARL OF MALMESBURY.



Once, indeed, placed in a conspicuous and responsible situation . . . the strongest incentive I had to exert myself was in the satisfaction I knew he would derive from any credit I might acquire, and the many and distinguished honours I have since received have suffered a great diminution in my estimation from his being no longer a witness to them.

It may be wondered that no direct mention has been so far made as to where the Harrises lived at the moment when James Harris and his wife are first introduced to the reader. The headquarters of the family were at Salisbury, in the old house which they had long 'held under the Church,' but they also had a small property and manor house situated on the river Avon, called Great Durnford, about eight miles from the cathedral city, a small remnant of which estate still remains in the hands of the writer of these pages, as well as owning another small house and property in Hampshire,<sup>1</sup> which had likewise been theirs for several generations.

It was not until after he had entered Parliament and when their children were growing up that James and Mrs. Harris are to be found year after year regularly settled in London; but even then they still spent a good portion of the twelve months at their various country residences, more especially at Salisbury.

It is difficult for us who live in these days thoroughly to picture to ourselves the appalling discomforts and endless fatigues to which our ancestors were subject each time they took a long journey in the 'good old coaching days,' when famous country inns with historic signboards drove a brisk trade—these inns which can now scarce boast a decent coffee-room, whose great stables are tenanted by a few lean and jaded nags, and where space, empty, yawning, desolate space, reigns supreme. Would that such old places as these could speak, and many a tale they would tell us of gallant gentleman and high-born dame primly paying one another polite compliments after the fashion of our forefathers, of swaggering grooms and buxom lasses taking advantage of the halt to flirt together in their own rude way, while 'canary-vested,' bare-armed ostlers led off the wearied steaming horses to fodder and to rest.

<sup>1</sup> Not Heron Court, which came to the first Lord Malmesbury from his cousin, Mr. Hooper, M.P. Lord Malmesbury greatly enlarged and almost entirely rebuilt it, transforming it from an Elizabethan-shaped manor house into a fine country seat.



The more interesting scenes of the Harris family life, as far as the general reader is concerned, are laid in the gay metropolis, but their letters contain many a charming account of country festivities, when county neighbours combined for the mutual entertainment and happiness of one another. A feature too which deserves attention is the very important part that places now reckoned among the suburbs of our great capital, such as Richmond, Kew and Twickenham, played in the social history of London as late as the last fifty years of the eighteenth century.

A letter of Mrs. Harris, written to her son at Oxford in June, 1763, tells him of a visit to Court, and at the same time serves to remind us of the popularity which these places once enjoyed in the eyes of the principal members of the Royal Family when George III. was king. It is as follows :<sup>1</sup>—

I was at St. James' yesterday ; it was not full. Their Majesties were gracious to me ; the Queen spoke English to Lady Henley, but French to me, who came next. . . . This morning we went to Richmond ; found nobody at home, but had a pleasant drive. The Duke of York and Princes William and Henry were just going from the Princesses as we got back to Kew. I had some difficulty to prevail on Thomas not to drive against the Duke of York, who was driving himself in a curricule ; his brothers were on horseback.

It was at Kew moreover that George III. first learnt the news of his grandfather's death and of his own succession, which event is duly chronicled in the Harris letters, and for the account of which Mr. Hooper, M.P., of Heron Court, first cousin to James Harris, is responsible.<sup>2</sup> It runs as follows :—

. . . One striking instance of the King's prudence and presence of mind is much talked of. He was riding out from Kew when a page delivered him a ticket importing that *something had happened to the (late) King*. He very calmly despatched the page and rode on a little way ; then, saying to his attendants that he found his horse was either lame or ill-shod, he turned back and concealed from those about him even the suspicion of what had happened until the news of the King's death was brought to him at Kew.

Other references to George III. in the *Harris Papers* contain eulogies on his conduct in the 'Wilkes' affair,' as also on another occasion of popular demonstrations.

'Almacks' (afterwards known as Willis's Rooms), Vauxhall and Ranelagh were all favourite resorts for the Harris family, and many are the descriptions of the fashionable world given in their letters after visits to these places of amusement.

<sup>1</sup> *Malmesbury Letters* (Bentley).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



LADY HARRIS, FIRST COUNTESS OF MALMESBURY.

*After the Painting by George Romney.*



'Hermes' Harris was a devoted and regular attendant at the opera, and it is rather astonishing to observe that the opera season in his day was always in the winter. 'The opera next winter,'<sup>1</sup> writes the mother of the first Lord Malmesbury in April, 1769, 'is to be managed by Mr. G. Pitt and Mr. Hobart; they talk of having the *the* "Guadagni," and the "Amicci," but I have lived long enough to know that spring talk and winter performances are not always the same. . . .' An ardent lover of the drama too, more than one note addressed to him by David Garrick is to be found among his correspondence. There is a letter still extant from the great actor, dated at Hampton, July 6, 1762, asking Mr. Harris' good offices and assistance in a particular matter connected with the stage:<sup>2</sup>—

Though I have had the honour [writes Garrick] of paying my respects to you at Salisbury, yet I know not how to make my excuses for the liberty I am going to take. A friend of mine who warmly recommended the musical talents of young Norris to me, and who has brought about an engagement with Mr. Stephens and the managers of Drury Lane Theatre, at the same time spoke highly of a pastoral, called 'Damon and Amaryllis,' and which he told me was in your hands. As I would willingly exhibit the young man to the best advantage, and as I am assured that he cannot appear to more in any performance than in the pastoral I have mentioned, I have made bold, Sir, to request a great favour of you, that you would permit us to perform it at Drury Lane the next winter.

Mr. Harris readily assented to this request, and two months later we find the dramatist taking his advice on one or two points of detail having reference to the production of this piece.

While James Harris thus pursued the natural bent of his own mind and gave himself up, as far as was separable from his public duties, to his own inclinations, his wife and daughters appear to have thoroughly participated in all the social gaieties and intellectual attractions of a life in London. An extract quoted from a letter of Mrs. Harris describes the feelings just alluded to:<sup>3</sup>—

His Majesty's birthday was very brilliant. Lady Lincoln was fine and elegant. Mrs. Howard had a point-lace trimming that cost 500*l*. Gertrude got a pretty light brown coat for your father, lined with blue and trimmed with a gold net set on blue ribbon. We thought him quite gay till Lord Guildford came here to carry him to Court. His lordship was dressed in light green, the cuffs turned up with a flowered silk with silver pink and green flowers.

<sup>1</sup> *Malmesbury Letters* (Bentley).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



The Harrises entertained much both in town and at Salisbury, and some distinguished statesman or *wit* was generally to be found among their guests.

Such were the first Lord Malmesbury's earliest surroundings, such were the influences which must have gone far to mould his character and to have rendered him capable of winning his spurs in the lists of diplomacy at the early age of twenty-four. His birth, which took place at Salisbury in the house of his fathers, is thus entered in the family Bible: 'James, the son of James and Elizabeth Harris, was born the ninth of April, 1746, at half hour past twelve at noon.' And a brass plate affixed to the wall of a room in the old rambling house still perpetuates its memory.

The future Lord Malmesbury commenced his juvenile studies at a small school in his native place, whence he was sent to Winchester, and in 1763 was entered as a gentleman commoner at Merton College, Oxford. His life at the University cannot be more fittingly described than in his own words:<sup>1</sup>—

The set of men with whom I lived were very pleasant, but very idle fellows. Our life was an imitation of High Life in London; luckily drinking was not the fashion, but what we did drink was claret, and we had our regular round of evening card parties, to the great annoyance of our finances. It has often been a matter of surprise to me how many of us made our way so well in the world and so creditably. Charles Fox, Lord Romney, North, Bishop of Winchester, Sir J. Stepney, Lord Robert Spencer, William Eden (now Lord Auckland), and my good and ever esteemed friend the last Lord Northington were amongst the number.

After leaving Oxford in 1765 James Harris the younger was sent to finish his studies at Leyden, where he remained for a year, returning home in 1766; but in 1767 he again left England, this time for a protracted tour on the continent, and he passed nearly the whole of the next thirty-five years of his life abroad. The experiences which he gained on this tour were of incalculable value to him in his after-career; for not only was the knowledge of the general state of politics, which he by a lengthened residence at more than one European capital acquired first-hand, of the greatest assistance later on, but he found the many friendships which he had originally made in an unofficial capacity of almost essential service to him when he became a responsible servant of the Crown.

The younger Harris had a personal charm of manner which

<sup>1</sup> *Diaries and Correspondence of the first Earl of Malmesbury* (Bentley).





MRS. JAMES HARRIS (WIFE OF JAMES HARRIS, M.P.)

*After the Painting by Joseph Highmore.*



easily made him a *persona gratissima* at the various Courts to which he was accredited, and, as may be seen from his pictures, was also a remarkably handsome man—a natural possession which certainly has to be reckoned with. It may almost be said of the first Lord Malmesbury without any undue laudatory extravagance that he represented in his manner and in his person the best type of *courtier-diplomatist*; and Mr. Thackeray, describing the life of a great lady of fashion somewhere in the pages of his now famous novel, *Vanity Fair*, relates how, among her many social accomplishments,—

‘*Malmesbury had made her his best bow.*’

But James Harris the younger was more than a mere courtier and man of the world, for under the most affable demeanour and a truly fascinating appearance he concealed an astuteness and fixity of purpose which often baffled the diplomatic schemes and political intrigues of his opponents. Mirabeau terms him :—

‘*Cet audacieux et rusé Harris.*’

His first appointment was to the Court of his Catholic Majesty, Charles III. of Spain, where he filled the post of Secretary of Legation.

While he held this office, and during a moment when his immediate chief, Sir James Gray, had returned to England on leave of absence, a difficulty arose, small and of no real importance in itself, but which landed Great Britain on the verge of a serious war with Spain. The Spaniards had seized the Falkland Islands in the Atlantic Ocean, which England also claimed, and had dislodged the British garrison. Harris, although implicitly obeying the instructions of his own Government, took upon himself to remonstrate strongly with the Spanish Prime Minister upon this overt act of aggression. Matters went so far that young Harris, who was then *Chargé d'affaires*, was recalled from Madrid, but before he had reached the frontier was informed that the King of Spain had abandoned his pretensions; the fall of the Duc de Choiseul, and his being in consequence unable to rely on the support of France, was the cause of this sudden change of tone.

Harris had conducted himself so well in a difficult and unpleasant situation that as a reward for his services, and to the great personal satisfaction of the Spanish monarch, he was promoted English Minister to that self-same Court where he

had just been serving in a subordinate position. Charles III. signified his approval of this by giving Mr. Harris an early interview, in which he alluded in delicate and gracious terms to the young envoy's abilities.

Very shortly after this James Harris was transferred as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Berlin, and on his bidding farewell to the Spanish Court, his Catholic Majesty was pleased to give him a handsome snuff-box bearing a portrait of himself.

He remained at the Court of Frederic the Great for four years, during which time he saw and learnt much of the designs of that most marvellous and eccentric of sovereigns.

Harris was no stranger to the Prussian king, for the young English minister had already had the honour of being presented to him on a former occasion when visiting Berlin in a private capacity.

Many are the anecdotes related in the Harris papers of this, by far the greatest of modern rulers, the first Napoleon included. An extract from the diary of the first Lord Malmesbury, written at the time when he first visited Berlin in 1767, furnishes us with an example of the *superlative genius* of this King of Prussia, although be it truthfully averred the story does not redound to his Majesty's credit :<sup>1</sup>—

As proof of his meanness, one might cite the smallness of his pay to all about his court and employed by him ; but above all the economy that is attended to in all manner of festivities given at his expense. On these occasions he suffers no one to interfere, but orders everything, down to the quantity of wax candles himself. . . . I saw the King myself directing his servants in the lighting up the ball-room, and telling them where and how they should place the candles. While this operation was performing, the Queen, the Royal Family, and company, were waiting, literally in the dark, as his Majesty did not begin this ceremony till supper was finished, and no one dared to presume to give orders to have it done.

Lord Malmesbury makes the additional comment that this was not an occasion for *public entertainment*, but one to which only people of a certain rank, foreign ministers and strangers, were suffered to come.

The personality of Frederick the Great will always be a subject of the deepest interest to students of history, increased as it is by the unfathomable and inexplicable contradictions which go to form it. Save Voltaire, the Prussian king never

<sup>1</sup> *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, first Earl of Malmesbury* (Bentley).



HARRIOT, COUNTESS OF MALMESBURY, WIFE OF THE FIRST EARL OF  
MALMESBURY.

*After the Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.*





had a friend ; he courted other sovereigns for the advantages which their alliance and goodwill might obtain for him ; he praised and censured his ministers just according as they turned out satisfactory or unsatisfactory instruments of his will ; but he ever dwarfed and stunted their best efforts by the weight of his own colossal intellect.

Hostile critics of Frederic II. may be inclined to rejoice at these tales of eccentricity and violence, of duplicity and cunning, so unfavourable to the reputation of Prussia's greatest king, with which the letters and despatches of the first Lord Malmesbury are filled at the time of his Berlin ministry, as well as in his subsequent mission to the Court of the Empress Catharine ; but the reader is asked kindly to remember that the few short references which have been in these pages to his Prussian Majesty are only intended to be side-lights—casual glances—at the more *peculiar traits* of his versatile genius. For instance, the *Harris Papers* on the occasion of a Court banquet tell us that the king entered into a very minute detail of the expenses of a table on such an occasion, . . . enumerating the quantity and size of the wax candles, and leaving unnoticed no one single article likely to be wanted at such entertainments : ‘So *great* is his Prussian Majesty, both in small and great affairs.’ And again James Harris, writing to Lord Suffolk, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in March, 1775, informs his lordship of great ill-humour on the part of the Prussian monarch, to which the following episode from a despatch of that date adds a somewhat ludicrous side :<sup>1</sup>—

. . . He broke his flute a few days ago on the head of his favourite hussar, and is very liberal in kicking and cuffing those employed about his person. He is peevish at his meals, says little in his evening conversation, and is affable to nobody.

Frederic the Great however must be excused by reason of the fact that he lived in an age when self-control, especially among persons of such exalted and royal rank as he, was a quality rather despised than otherwise, and when the head of a family, whether that family be royal or not, frequently considered himself to have grossly neglected one of his first duties if he showed too much consideration towards its lesser members.

Frederic's love for solitude is well known, as the following

<sup>1</sup> *Malmesbury Diaries and Correspondence* (ante).

letter from James Harris the younger to his mother helps to illustrate :<sup>1</sup>—

. . . The King comes from Silesia the 3rd, when I must return to Berlin [from Sans Souci], his Majesty not choosing that any of us accredited foreigners should break in upon his solitude.

The king felt that he might be compelled to receive the accredited ministers of foreign powers, whereas, from what is known of his domestic habits, no one of his own subjects, not even the members of the Royal House itself, would have dared to intrude upon his privacy, when privacy was what he demanded.

It is not possible within the limits of this paper, nor would it be in keeping with its general scheme, to follow the first Lord Malmesbury through all the successive stages of his public life ; and the writer of these pages must emphatically disclaim any attempt or aspiration on his part to soar into the heights of historical disquisition ; but a brief account of the events which were connected with his Russian embassy may not be without its interest.

Mr. Harris gave up his mission to Berlin in September, 1776, and was immediately afterwards appointed to the Court of St. Petersburg. He arrived at the Russian capital at a moment when the political horizon was obscured by dark storm-clouds of ill omen and of serious trouble for England. She stood isolated and cut off from all the great European Powers. France and Spain were hostile to her, Prussia hated her, the Emperor Joseph II. was too much taken up with his own affairs to help her, while the Empress Catharine was far too fully occupied in diverting attention from her own projects to be of any assistance to Great Britain.

Sir James Harris—by which title he is best known during his stay at the Russian Court—had there to encounter many real difficulties in the shape of underhand dealings and false protestations of support while trying to carry out the trust reposed in him. He found on his arrival at St. Petersburg two strong parties contending for the guidance of Russian foreign policy—those who favoured hostility to England, and those who were more kindly disposed towards her. Count Panin led the former faction, while Prince Potemkin supported the latter. Fortunately for Sir James Harris however a cordial

<sup>1</sup> *Malmesbury Letters* (Bentley).

friendship soon sprung up between him and Potemkin, and, what was even more important, he became a very favoured being in the eyes of the Russian empress, who in her later conduct, e.g. in the affair of the 'Armed Neutrality,' was less actuated by feelings of real enmity against England, as by a wish to see that country entirely hampered, in order that, having all the great states of Europe fully engaged in their own concerns, she might have a wider scope for her ambitious schemes of Russian aggrandisement.

Frederic the Great's influence was strong at the Court of the Empress, and it is curious to find that Sir James Harris had to guard himself most carefully against the emissaries of that sovereign, to whom he had so lately been accredited, although of course it must be stated that it was partly owing to his knowledge of the King of Prussia's character that he was in the first instance selected for this post.

If Sir James Harris failed to accomplish the first object of his mission and was unable to enlist the sympathy and hearty co-operation of her Imperial Majesty, he was at all events successful, as has already been said, in *establishing himself* in her good graces, and throughout the whole of his residence at the Court of Catharine II. he continually received marks of her kindness and condescension, as well as proofs of her personal appreciation for his services. He was often a guest at her various palaces, not only on the more formal occasions of state, to which his position would have entitled him—nay, more, necessitated his appearance, but at her Majesty's private suppers and card parties.

The empress's predilection for handsome men is notorious, and doubtless this contributed in no small way to his popularity with her.

Among historic relics at Heron Court there is a baby's christening frock of white satin and lace sent by the Czarina to Sir James Harris on the birth of his elder daughter, named Catharine, after this imperial lady. The following is a contemporary description of the christening ceremony:—

From the Register Book belonging to the Chapel of the British Factory at St. Petersburg: <sup>1</sup>—

Catharine, daughter of Sir James Harris, K.B. (His Britannic Majesty's

<sup>1</sup> This factory long represented the centre of English life in Russia, for an excellent and short account of which vide Murray's *Handbook of Russia*, etc., pp. 22-5 (1893 ed.).



Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Empress of all the Russias) and Harriet his wife, born the 18th of May, was baptized the 20th of June, 1780. Her Imperial Majesty, represented by her Lady of the Bed-chamber, Alexandra Vassillievna Englehart, and her Grand Master of the Horse, M. Leof Alexandritch Narishkin, was sole Sponsor.

The above extract was taken this 25th day of August, 1780, by me

W. TOOKE, Minister.

ST. PETERSBURG, *August 25, 1780.*

The following addition to the above appears in the family Bible : 'Her Imperial Majesty presented her god-daughter with a fine diamond necklace.'

Besides the usual snuff-box, given to him by the empress, there is also at Heron Court a wonderful Chinese screen presented by Prince Potemkin, and lastly there is the portrait of Catharine herself, as well as those of her son and daughter-in-law, the Grand-Duke<sup>1</sup> (afterwards the Emperor) Paul and his Grand-Duchess.

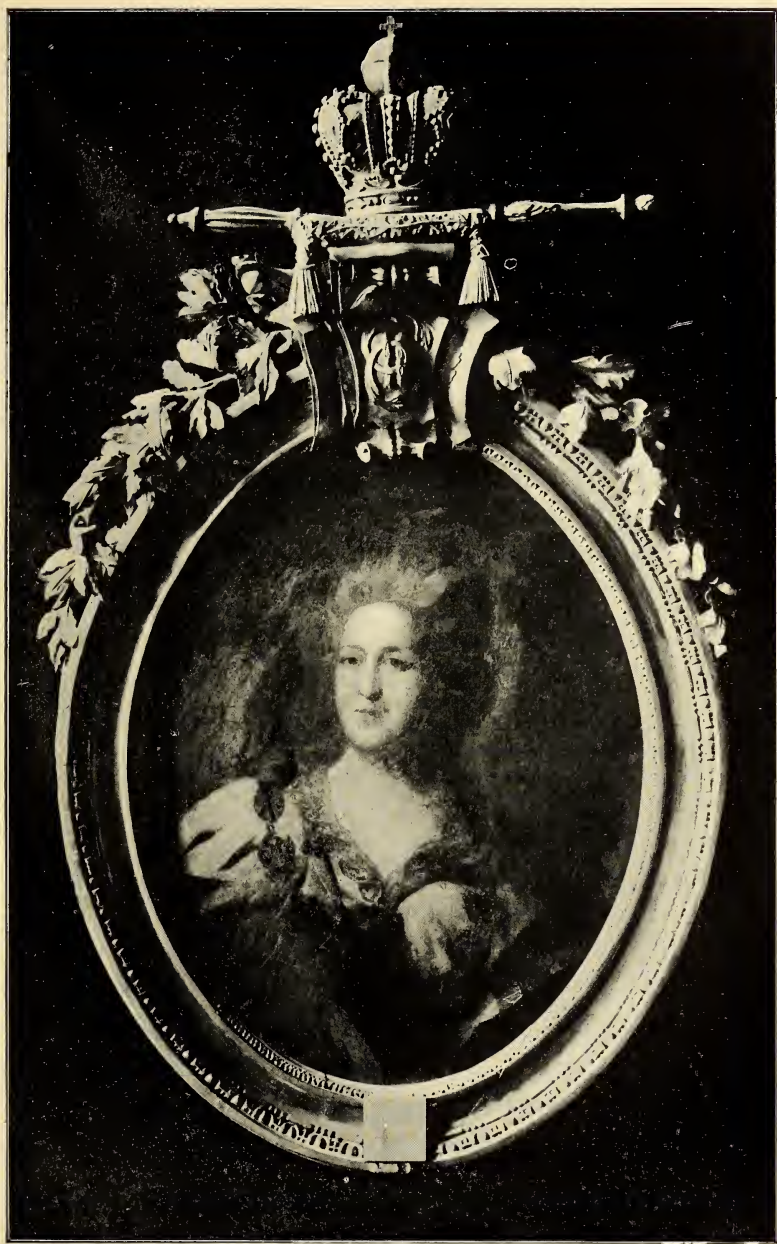
In 1784 Sir James Harris was chosen by Mr. Pitt—although not then his recognized political leader—for the delicate and arduous task of opposing French influence at the Hague. Of his success in forming the Triple Alliance of 1788, of his elevation to the peerage in consequence, of his public life at home, of his second ministry at Berlin, of his mission to Brunswick, so unhappy in its results, when he brought back (against his own private inclinations) the Princess Caroline to be the unfortunate and unloved bride of George, Prince of Wales, and of his unfruitful attempts to make peace with a nation maddened by the sight of blood, space forbids any further reference. These are matters of history, and must here remain as such.

Deafness—one of the infirmities of old age—came upon him prematurely and made him decline any further employment, although his advice and counsel was still sought by the rising generation of statesmen.

In 1800 he was advanced to an earldom. No more fitting conclusion can be found to the life of one of the most celebrated diplomatists of the eighteenth century than his own dignified farewell to life, written a few weeks before his death :<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> The writer, when he visited Russia, saw more than one picture of the Emperor Paul *exactly similar* to the one at Heron Court. These were in the imperial palaces there, and a 'fac-simile' of these is to be seen in Morfill's *History of Russia* ('Story of the Nations' series).





THE EMPRESS CATHERINE II. OF RUSSIA.



Thou hast completed thy seventy-fourth year, having been permitted to live longer than any of thy ancestors as far back as 1606.—Thy existence has been without any great misfortune and without any acute disease, and has been one for which thou ought'st to be extremely grateful.—Be so in praise and thanksgiving towards the Supreme Being, and by preparing thyself to employ the remnant of it 'wisely and discreetly.'—Thy next step will probably be the last.—Strive not to delay the period of its arrival, nor lament at its near approach.—Thou art too exhausted, both in mind and body, to be of service to thy country, thy friends, or family.—Thou art fortunate in leaving thy children well and happy ; be content to join thy parent earth calmly and with becoming resignation. Such is thy imperious duty.—Vale.

Lord Malmesbury died on November 21, 1820, and was entombed with his ancestors in the north transept of Salisbury cathedral, leaving his wife, two sons and two daughters him surviving.

## MALMESBURY.

<sup>1</sup> *Malmesbury Diaries and Correspondence* (Bentley).

## THE MINIATURES AT BELVOIR CASTLE

THE collection of miniatures at Belvoir Castle, though not in point of size very large, is a very representative one, containing fine examples of the famous English artists from Elizabethan times down to the present day; while the foreign schools supply excellent specimens by J. Petitot, C. F. Zincke and J. E. Liotard and other less known miniaturists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The majority of the miniatures are family portraits; but besides these the collection contains many of very great national and historic interest; the Raleigh miniatures in particular being considered unique.

The greatest care has been bestowed on the 'pictures in little,' as they are sometimes described in old manuscripts. They have lately been chronologically arranged by Lady Granby in sixteen panels round the room, and protected by glass and green blinds from their arch enemies—damp and sunlight. The nucleus of the collection was formed by each successive generation having their portraits painted, but the miniatures of the Cosway period were collected chiefly by the third and fourth Dukes of Rutland.

The earliest portrait in point of date (1501) is that of Elizabeth wife of Sir John Seymour, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, and mother of Lady Jane Seymour (who married Henry VIII.) and of the Protector Somerset. There is no inscription on this miniature; the background is of the blue colour beloved by Hilliard and his school, and the treatment is flat and hard.

In the same panel hangs an interesting Elizabethan group: Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor; Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland; Queen Elizabeth; and Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester. Sir Christopher Hatton is a most curious full length picture: the great seal is lying on a table near him and a small dog is at his side. It is not signed, but is most probably by Nicholas Hilliard (an almost exact replica of this portrait is now in Mr. Salting's fine collection). A tragic interest is attached to the miniature





WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL.



MARQUESS OF GRANBY



WISEMAN.






of the eighth Earl of Northumberland. He was suspected of plotting in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, imprisoned in the Tower of London, and found dead in his cell from a pistol shot, supposed to have been self-inflicted. The miniature is inscribed, 'Vere nobilissimus et magnanimus Henricus Percy, Northumbriæ Comes,' and on the light-blue background, 'Ano. D'ni. 1585. Ætatis Suæ 54.' The date 1585 would be the year of his death. An interesting family portrait is that of Isabella wife of the third Earl of Rutland and daughter of Sir Thomas Holcroft; this is inscribed, 'Anno Dni. 1572. Ætatis Suæ 20,' and is most likely by Nicholas Hilliard, though it is not signed.



From an historical point of view the Raleigh portraits are perhaps the most interesting and curious, so a detailed description of them here may not be out of place. Sir Walter is depicted in armour inlaid with gold, and on the blue background is the inscription, 'Æt. 68, Anno 1618,' the year of his execution. On the left side of the vignette, below the portrait, is the word 'Calis,' and opposite to it 'Fial.' The probability is that Calis stands for Cadiz and Fial for Fayal, where naval fights took place in which Raleigh much distinguished himself. The vignette represents the attack upon Fayal.


The following description of the beautiful miniature case (which is also intended to contain the portrait of the son) is taken from the *Catalogue* of the Exhibition of European Enamels held by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1897: 'Oval miniature case of gold, about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. by nearly 4 in. English Cloisonné. End of sixteenth century. The pattern is a floral arabesque, worked in gold cloisons, on a black background with flowers in translucent green. In the centre is a heart-shaped lozenge under a W, while beneath it is the monogram E.R. all in green translucent enamel. The shapes and the front of the ornaments over the portrait are picked out in black.' This case, bearing the entwined initials W. E. R. (Walter and Elizabeth Raleigh) and heart, was no doubt preserved and worn by Lady Raleigh as a souvenir of her ill-fated husband and son, for the son's portrait originally fitted into the back of the case, its present frame being a more modern one. The young Walter Raleigh must have been extremely handsome, if his portrait is a faithful likeness, with black hair, regular features and dark eyes. The blue background is inscribed, 'Æt. suæ 24, Anno Do. 1618.' On the

left side of the vignette is the word 'Guyana' (Guiana), opposite it, on the right side, 'St. Thomae.' The vignette evidently represents the attack on St. Thomè, where this gallant young man lost his life in his twenty-fourth year.

Hanging between the Raleigh portraits is a fine miniature of Henry Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I., by Peter Oliver. The prince is in gilded armour, wearing the blue ribbon of the garter and a fine lace ruff. In W. Saunderson's *Anlicus Coquinariæ*, a curious pamphlet published in 1650, in the account of the prince's last illness, mention is made of his visit to Belvoir to meet his father, James I. 'His active body used violent exercises; for at this time, being to meet the king at Bever in Nottinghamshire, he rode it in two days, neer a hundred miles, in the extremity of heat in summer. For he set out early and came to Sir Oliver Cromwell's, neer Huntingden, by ten a clock before noon, neer sixty miles, and the next day *betimes to Bever, forty miles*. He was comely, tall, five foot eight inches high, strong and well made, somewhat broad shoulders, a small waste, amiable with majesty. His haire aborn (auburn) colour; long faced and broad for-head; a pearcing grave eye and gracious smile, but with a frowne, danting.' The miniature is signed with the monogram .

Hanging beneath his brother is a very curious and charming miniature of Charles I. when Prince of Wales; round the portrait is a Latin inscription to this effect: 'The most illustrious and serene Charles, Prince of Wales, the greatest hope of Great Britain, in the fourteenth year of his age.' On the curtain are the plume, crown, crescent and stars (the crescent is the heraldic mark showing he was the second son of James I.). The prince is in a large ruff and wearing the George. The painter is unknown.

Isaac Oliver is well represented by a fine portrait of William Herbert third Earl of Pembroke. An additional interest is attached to this miniature when we remember that he and his brother Philip, who succeeded him, are the incomparable pair of brethren to whom the first folio of Shakespeare's works is dedicated (1623), and Lord Pembroke is possibly the W. H. (Mr. William Herbert) alluded to as 'the onlie begetter' of Shakespeare's  sonnets. This miniature is signed with the monogram  and dated 1616.

The collec- tion is especially rich in Coopers. Richard



HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.



LADY GERTRUDE HOWARD, AND LADY ELIZABETH HOWARD.



SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.







Wiseman, Sergeant Surgeon to Charles II., is a remarkably fine work; the treatment is broad and fine, the modelling of the face extraordinarily clever; the background is of a rather uncommon green colour. The portrait is signed S.C. and dated 1660, and engraved on the back of the frame is the inscription: 'Richardus Wiseman, Carolo II. Mag. Brit. Regi. Archichir'gus.' Grace Lady Manners, wife of Sir George Manners and second daughter of Sir Henry Pierpoint, recalls some portrait by Franz Hals or the Van Eyks in her austere black cap tied under the chin and penetrating expression of countenance. The 'Grace Lady Manners' school at Bake-well in Derbyshire, founded by this philanthropic lady, is still extant and flourishing. The miniature is dated 1650 and signed with the monogram S.C. Another family portrait by Cooper is that of John eighth Earl of Rutland, who rebuilt the castle in 1668 after it had been destroyed by the Parliamentary army.

An interesting trio of miniatures is William Lord Russell, his heroic wife Rachel, both by S. Cooper, and their second daughter Katharine, who married John second Duke of Rutland. The following inscription is on the back of the frame which contains Lord Russell's portrait: 'William, Lord Russell, who was unjustly beheaded 1683.' The same panel also contains enamels by Zincke of three of the Duchess's sons—John third Duke, Lord William and Lord Thomas Manners.

Lady Frances Cecil wife of the fifth Earl of Cumberland, and John eighth Earl of Rutland are rather uninteresting examples by John Hoskins, Samuel Cooper's master. Peter Lens, son of the famous Bernard Lens, contributes a rather weak portrait of the famous Marquis of Granby and an attractive miniature of an unknown lady with pearls in her hair.

Of the enamels by Jean Petitot, Queen Henrietta Maria bears the palm in point of beauty, Louise de la Valliere is somewhat disappointing as her features lack refinement and delicacy. Charles sixth Duke of Somerset and his second wife (the parents of Frances Marchioness of Granby, to whom these miniatures were probably given) are both fine specimens of the great master. The portraits of Gabrielle d'Estrées and Louis XIV. were bought at the Bailli de Breteuil's sale in Paris in 1786. The details of their purchase and price are

most interesting and curious ; the miniatures appear originally to have been on snuff boxes, as the following correspondence shows (*Belvoir Castle MSS.* ii. 275) :—

GEORGE KENDAL TO THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

1786, *January 10*, PARIS.

I have made enquiries concerning your intended purchase at the Bailli de Breteuil's sale. I had seen the pictures several times, but I applied to our two best painters and connoisseurs, Le Brun and Robert, whom I met by appointment at the late Bailli's house. The miniatures of Petitot are remarkably fine, particularly that of a woman, supposed to be Gabrielle D'Estrées ; the man, Louis XIV. The first of these the Bailli bought at the Duchess of Mazarin's sale for upwards of 1,300 French livres.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1786, PARIS.

I was mistaken in the prices of the pictures. The crowd and squabbles were so great that my ears were deceived in the bidding, luckily on the right side, as you may see from Le Brun's note. Last night I purchased the two snuff boxes, with the miniatures, by Petitot, on them, at the prices in the enclosed note. I thought them dear, but was assured by the connoisseurs that they were very cheap—the one for 4.70 l. remarkably so.

Queen Anne in enamel by Charles Boit was no doubt presented to the family as a 'Memento Mori,' for on the back of the miniature case, below the queen's monogram, are a death's head and cross bones ! This miniature is signed C. Boit, and represents the queen with more character in her face than is generally ascribed to her. The portrait of Charles II. is most interesting : it represents him as a young and handsome man ; the complexion is very dark, and we can understand and sympathize with Henrietta Maria when she wrote to her friend Madame St. George during his infancy : 'I will send you his portrait as soon as he is a little fairer ; for at present he is so dark that I am ashamed of him.' Unfortunately this miniature (in oil on copper) is not signed ; in beauty and freedom of treatment it recalls Vandyck. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in a curious Oriental costume is an interesting work by that erratic genius, J. E. Liotard (an almost exact replica of this miniature is in Lord Wharnccliffe's fine collection). Liotard also painted several miniatures of the famous Marquis of Granby, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in 1766. A small crayon sketch of him at the age of twenty, when doing the grand tour, is signed 'Le Marquis de Granby peint à



MARY ISABELLA DUCHESS OF RUTLAND.



LORD ROBERT MANNERS.



GRACE LADY MANNERS.



JOHN FIFTH DUKE OF RUTLAND.





Constantinople, par Liotard 1740'; there are also several very fine enamels of him in later life by the same artist.

We now come to that most delightful period of miniature painting—the latter half of the eighteenth century. The dress and coiffure of that day were particularly picturesque, and lent themselves well to the art; while a host of miniature painters inspired by Reynolds and Gainsborough were hard at work, delineating for posterity the most distinguished men and women of the day. Mary Isabella, wife of the fourth Duke of Rutland and daughter of the fourth Duke of Beaufort, a miniature of bewitching beauty by Andrew Plimer, has the hair arranged in long unconfined tresses; through the clustering curls on the forehead is twisted 'Romney-wise' a white gauze scarf. This lady was the friendly rival of Georgina Duchess of Devonshire, and considered the most beautiful woman of her day. Her husband, Charles fourth Duke of Rutland and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, by R. Cosway, is an extremely fine work, and disproves the statement that the great master was less successful with men than women. But loveliest and most attractive of all, and not unworthy to rank as one of his finest works, is the portrait of their young son, afterwards John Henry fifth Duke of Rutland; the expression of the face is charming, the drawing of the intricate white lace ruffle is remarkable for its subtlety and grace, while the technique of the hair is marvellous in its freedom and surety of touch. Among other family portraits by Cosway are Anne Countess of Northampton, a delightful sketch of an unknown lady reclining in bed, and a fine miniature of the gallant sailor, Lord Robert Manners, killed at the early age of twenty-four from wounds received in action when in command of the *Resolution* under Admiral Rodney in 1782. The poet Crabbe thus refers to his death in the poem, 'The Village.'

'Oh! be like him,' the weeping sire shall say;  
 'Like Manners walk, who walk'd in Honour's way;  
 In danger foremost, yet in death sedate,  
 Oh! be like him in all things, but his fate!'

John Nixon contributes a fine miniature, signed with the initial N., of Mary Isabella Duchess of Rutland; Ozias Humphrey, a portrait of the Duchess's sister, Anne Countess of Northampton, signed with the monogram (H), exquisite



in texture and finish ; and Samuel Shelley, two excellent portraits of Elizabeth Duchess of Rutland and the fifth Duke.

Edward Duke of Somerset (1560), the Protector, is an excellent copy of the original miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, now in the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch. On the back of the frame is the inscription : 'Painted and presented to the Duke of Rutland, in Ireland, by Margaret Lady Lucan.' The following interesting correspondence occurs about this miniature in the *Belvoir Castle MSS.* vol. ii. :

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS TO THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

1784, *September 24*, LONDON.

I dined with Lady Lucan last Sunday, who told me of her intention of painting a picture for your Grace, but was undetermined what it should be. I shall call on her to-morrow to acquaint her with what your Grace wishes about the Duke of Somerset's picture, which I should think would be the best thing for her to do. I question her success in an historical picture.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS TO THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

1785, *May 30*, LONDON.

I acquainted Lady Lucan with your Grace's request, in your own words, as they were so flattering to her ladyship. She answered that she should set about it immediately, as she has now found a picture of the 'Protector,' Duke of Somerset, which is in possession of the Marquis of Buckingham, but she says it is but an indifferent picture, and she fears her copy will be no great ornament to your cabinet.

Sir Joshua did not possess the same high opinion of Lady Lucan's artistic merit as Horace Walpole, who in his *Anecdotes on Painting* thus praises her : 'Who has arrived at copying the most exquisite works of Isaac and Peter Oliver, Hoskins, and Cooper with a genius that almost depreciates those masters, when we consider that they spent their lives in attaining perfection ; and who, soaring above their modest timidity, has transferred the vigour of Raphael to her copies in water colours !'

A charming Greuze-like work of two young girls, Lady Elizabeth and Lady Katharine Manners (afterwards Lady E. Norman and Lady Forester), and a fine portrait of Isabella Countess of Sefton are by that industrious and clever artist Mrs. Mee.

The 'early Victorian' miniatures are but few in number. Henry Bone contributes a fine enamel of Elizabeth Duchess



SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S SON.

679674



CHARLES PRINCE OF WALES.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.



of Rutland ; William Derby, a painstaking copy of Sir Joshua Reynold's portrait of the famous Marquis of Granby ; and Anthony Stewart (who painted the first miniature of Queen Victoria), portraits of John Henry fifth Duke of Rutland, his wife and their numerous family, Lord John Manners (seventh Duke of Rutland), Lord George Manners, Lady Elizabeth Drummond, Lady Adeliza and Lady Katharine Manners. There is a great similarity between the children's portraits, and alas ! already the flesh tints have slightly faded, although the miniatures have been carefully preserved from sunlight and damp. The above notes do not attempt to be an exhaustive description of the collection. To describe each portrait minutely would surpass the limits of this article ; but in conclusion we cannot help urging on those who are the fortunate possessors of 'pictures in little' to increase their number by having their own portraits painted (*with the name of the sitter and artist engraved on the frame*, saving posterity many an anxious hour of doubt and conjecture !) By this means they would contribute largely to the Renaissance of this charming art, which of late years has been suffered to fall into such ill-deserved neglect and decay.

## VICTORIA MANNERS.

*Note by Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte.*

In the Belvoir Household Accounts are the following entries which are interesting as bearing on some of the miniatures in the Duke's collection :

1586. *The 21 of May, paied to Peter Vanlour for a brooch of her Majesties picture in an aggatt sett with 53 diamonds, 80l.* (He occurs as a jeweller in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, for 1594.)

1603. *June or July. To Hyldiard for a picture of the Kinges Majestie, 3l.*

1599. *Paied for two pictures of my Lord to Mr. Peake, the one for my Lady, the other for Mrs. Mary Ratcliff, 6l.*

1599. *For my Ladies picture to Mr. Peake, 5l.*



## HERALDRY REVIVED

A WHOLE bay of the library of the Society of Antiquaries is given up to the books which treat of heraldry. A bushy growth has sprung up round this unhappy subject, a maze or Troy Town in which wanderers, studious of the beaten track, mark out fresh blind alleys with their stumblings. More than a generation ago there came to the gate of this maze one Mr. James Robinson Planché. Being no antiquary by training, but a writer of burlesques, he took his eyes off the ground and looking over the hedges saw the level green in the middle. For the first time in the history of heraldic study heraldry was, as his title page boasted, to be 'founded on facts.' Certainly he pushed his way forward with little regard for the ordered paths of precedent; but his play writing encroached on his hours for original study, and his work, although it saw several editions, remains shallow and hastily-conceived, the child of a very thin notebook. From a Pursuivant of Arms of his own creation he became Rouge Croix Pursuivant of Arms and a member of a college of augurs, whose high pontiff, as we may gather from a preface to one of his later editions, had no sympathetic eye for critical thumbing of the sacred books of the caste. For one reason or another the task which this pioneer set himself remains for us to make an end of, an end best achieved by the levelling of the whole maze.

This beginning of a new century sees the antiquary abroad. The antiquary as the early nineteenth century knew him, a fusty person enamoured of fustiness, lingers in our dark places, but the new school of English archæology, building fact upon the sure foundation of fact and adding daily to the mass of our knowledge of the past of our race, is up and doing with a more reasonable enthusiasm. Architect antiquaries are telling every stone of our ancient houses and churches; topographer antiquaries are writing the history of the land to the twelve-inch scale; folk-lore antiquaries are garnering in what remains of old English custom and tradition; genealogist antiquaries are hewing with critical axes amongst the stately family trees, under whose shade their forerunners were content to walk reverently. It is making no undue claim for heraldry to say



that a working knowledge of it is needful for each and all of these workers, although with none of their grave studies can the science of heraldry presume to rank.

For the art of heraldry is a wide field—as wide as a great decorative art may be; but when the science of heraldry has suffered the unwinding of its gilded mummy clothes, one must acknowledge, calling to mind the extravagant claims of those who swaddled it, that, like Sarah's baby, it is 'a very little one.'

Let us consider the outset difficulty of the antiquary to whom the occasion comes for a prentice knowledge of heraldry.

When an architect or topographer is before a shield in stone or glass or laton, or when the genealogist is considering the shields of descents and alliances, how shall he describe them?

To those loaded bookshelves he comes for guidance. On the lower shelves are the ancient folios. These indeed are well-springs of limpid and engaging nonsense, but the mind capable of absorbing the systems of blazonry formulated by Randle Holme and his fellows is only found to-day amongst graduates of Peking. And from the works of these fathers there is no appeal to the little treatises of our own days, for they are but the fathers in miniature, duller it may be, and with the fathers' flamboyant English pruned away. Little or no critical advance has been made since the time when seventeenth century pens squeaked through reams of disquisition concerning things which the passing of but two or three centuries had made as remote as the economies of Tibet. It seems that before our antiquary may describe his shield he must sit down to a full meal of folly.

Yet if we take in hand the ancient rolls of arms, and under their guidance approach the contemporary seals and painting of arms, we are at once in clearer air. For the blazon of arms is no hidden thing to be learned with a great toil ill-spent. What is it but the short and meet description of the manner in which the cunning artists of the past planned that certain simple devices might be painted upon shields in such fashion that although men arrayed ten or twenty thousand such shields each should have its distinct bearing? The student finds himself asking what has happened that a shield which its bearer in the former days might blazon in a dozen reasonable words now demands a mouthful of strange phrases in a long sentence framed in the fear of fifty rules and precedents.

This, in a word, is what has happened. Heraldry, which was feeling its way stiffly and uncertainly when Matthew Paris first made a pictured list of English arms, came towards the end of the thirteenth century into the hands of the artists who brought it at once into line with the graceful decoration of the day. The work of this school develops, as the years pass, to the vigorously drawn shields of the time of the Edwardian wars in France, which time saw the increase of the custom of quartering arms. But heraldry was child of the whole blood of the middle ages, and with the middle ages the art crumbles away. Some flamboyant pieces of the fifteenth century take the eye, but the end is at hand, and here the monstrous regiment of the books written round about heraldry begins to assert itself. Master Mumblazon has nibbed his quill, and so have John of Guildford, Nicholas Upton and Dame Julian Barnes of St. Albans. The Wars of the Roses were making tatters of the old coats, a new gentry was arising, and the heralds were up and at work. Richard III. made a corporation of these heralds, and it is but fair to say that certain of its earlier members strove hard to set up again a fallen art, so that a certain renaissance of heraldry may be observed under the seventh and eighth Henries. But the arms granted by the heralds were overloaded with charges, and cumbered especially by the fancy for capping already crowded fields with a crowded chief. Decoration lost its balanced ease and became lumpish and stodgy. The books about heraldry and the growing mass of official precedent were too much for the art, and the little science became dropsical with words. The ancient words were mistaken and misplaced and hustled by hundreds of newly minted absurdities. The end may be said to have come when the Elizabethan heralds and their followers, for the magnifying of an office already somewhat blown upon, set themselves deliberately to change the customs of blazonry for a code with a thousand laws, a species of augurs' slang whose key and control should rest with them, although country squires might reverently spell out some of its mysteries from the big bibles of the faith.

From that time an antiquary's interest in heraldry may well cease, and we need not follow it as it went at a hand gallop to the point at which, to use our grandfathers' elegantly turned and perfectly truthful phrase, it was 'abandoned to the coach-painter and the undertaker.'

For those who would rescue heraldry from the hands of these respectable men and from the hands of their brother the engraver of book plates there is no help from the compilers of the little 'handbooks of heraldry.' Mr. Boutell's work, which for want of a better is often recommended to the student antiquary, is of the smallest service. It is true that in the warm periods of his preface he seeks 'from the authority, the practise, and the associations of the early heraldry of the best and most artistic eras, to derive a heraldry which we may rightly consider to be our own, and which we may transmit with honour to our successors.' But in the next sentence Mr. Boutell wavers. He does not 'suggest the adoption, for present use, of an obsolete system,' so we gather that the 'early heraldry of the best and most artistic eras' is not for Mr. Boutell's readers after all. Lower down in the page he lashes himself again to the repudiation of 'the acceptance and maintenance amongst ourselves of a most degenerate substitute for a noble science,' and yearns 'to revive the fine old heraldry of the past,' yet it seems that on no account we are 'to adjust ourselves to the circumstances of its first development' or to 'reproduce its original expressions.' So long as we were 'animated by the spirit of the early heralds' we might 'lead our heraldry onward with the advance of time,' but unhappily for Mr. Boutell he was a child of the spacious days of the Great Exhibition, and he is unmistakably of his own period when we find him begging his pupils on no account to draw their heraldic beasts as freely as they appear on the shield of John of Eltham. Mr. Boutell may not have 'led his heraldry onward' in any notable degree, but in this matter his exhortations bore fruit. No one of late years has drawn shields resembling that flower of fourteenth century art which is on the arm of the Lord John of Eltham.

The real importance of such a work as *English Heraldry* lies in its popularity, a popularity encouraged by the excellent engravings of ancient seals and the like with which the book is illustrated, whereby in spite of its slender scholarship and its injudicious commonplaces it is become the manual of most people studying heraldry in England. Through it all, and through all the dozen little books its fellows, runs with pathetic insistence the hope that, by avoiding too close an intimacy with the medieval side of a frankly medieval art, heraldry, rising from its tomb in some familiar and mid-Victorian shape, may



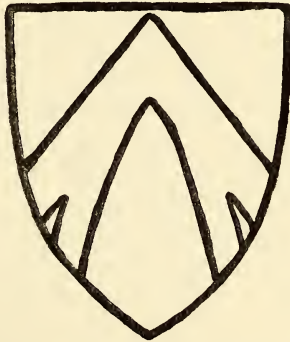
be coaxed into remaining with us, to use a phrase dear to the Boutells and the Cussanses, as 'a living science.' The courage of their opinions however never takes these writers to the logical conclusion of exchanging the helms which support their crests for the tall silk hats, their legitimate successors, mantled with the antimacassars of Mr. Boutell's day, although this would have grown reasonably enough out of their suggestions. Their feet desired the respectable middle way in all matters, and when they speak of heraldic art we know that they yearned for a heraldic lion which should be gendered in spousebreach by one of John of Eltham's leopards upon a Landseer lioness, a respectable beast which might decorate without incongruity a hall chair in carved oak of Tottenham Court Road.

The heraldry manuals of Messrs. Cussans, Jenkins, Elvin and their like do not call for remark here, or, for that matter, elsewhere, for the better known Boutell may stand for an example of all of them; but the work of Woodward and Burnett, lately republished with Mr. Woodward's name alone upon the title page, demands some notice by reason of the weight and size which give these two volumes a certain distinction amongst modern books on the subject. Mr. Woodward was an excellent scholar, with a really remarkable knowledge of the vagaries of modern European heraldry, of which knowledge his pages give voluminous proof. But of the main principles of our own English heraldry, and especially of its beginnings, he was careless and ill-informed, and for the study of these things his book is worse than useless.

One and all, these modern works on heraldry depend for the language of their blazonry upon the folios and quartos from which they are the lineal descendants. In the main their writers show themselves indifferent to the early art and practice which is the only side of heraldry worthy the attention of reasonable men, and delight to clothe themselves as with a garment with a patchwork of language from those great webs of nonsense woven by the dead and gone pedants by whose authority their tangled vocabularies exist.

If we were willing to receive the instruction of these fathers it were surely better to seek their lore at first hand. But the gap between their day and ours is not to be spanned. Even the little handbooks have decided to drop overboard the mass of metaphysic and crack-brained symbolism with which they freighted their barks. We may listen, but it is with wonder

and scant reverence, when owlish wisdom lays down that 'he that is a coward to his country must bear this—argent a gore sinister sable, albeit if it be a dexter gore although of staynand colour yet it is a good cote for a gentlewoman'; or when the hidden significance of colour or metal is laid bare, as in the case of the colour vert, 'which signifieth Venus, emaragd or emerald, loyalty in love, courtesy and affabilitie, Gemini and Virgo in planets, May and August, Friday, lusty green youth from 20 to 30 years, verdures and green things, water, spring time, flegmatique complexion, 6 in number and quicksilver in metals.' We admire, but are unable to follow, their evolving of the original story of a shield of arms by earnest contemplation of its charges. Holbeame's shield was for them 'a cheveron enarched,' and therein Master Gerard Leigh had good assurance that 'the ancestors of this cote had done some notable act in the art of geometry.' One may indeed suggest, with Master Leigh safely under turf, that 'the ancestor of this cote' had but cast up his eyes to his own 'hall beam' and taken its arch for his punning arms, but such an explanation in the days of the fathers would have been reckoned trivial and unedifying.



These inward meanings and significations we may leave behind us for very jealousy, for we can never approach the standard of divination which Sylvanus Morgan could bring to bear upon the simplest charge. Hear him on the Inescutcheon.

The In-Escutcheon is (as it were) the Honour Point of Joseph's Achievement, 'tis (as it were) a single heart deserving respect from all that behold him. It denoteth the pulchritude of his inward mind intire, which if you should or could behold through his brest, it should discover (as through the Orle) the most delightful Images of his natural and supernatural parts, by his wise carriage to his brethren, whereby he obtained the Escocheon of pretence by



putting the Cup in Benjamin's Sack. And here you may see how the variety of Arms are incredible, being a fit recreation worthy the speculation of the Generous and Noble : while the single Escoccheon is an entire Heart, and the Orle is perforated and open, that those that saw through the windows of his bosom that his heart was open to receive them that sold him. His Escoccheon of Pretence declared his sound wisdom, though he might bear it also, for that he married the Daughter and Heir of Pothipar.

In this humour Torquatus the knight sits at the feet of Paradinus the herald, hearing the sage boast his knowledge of the 'coatarmours of the feminine sex, more auncient than Rome, yea, before the foundations of Old Troy' ; and hungry for such learning Torquatus says that if they be not shown him 'then farewell all friendship.' His zeal, needless to say, is rewarded on the spot, but the 'coatarmours' are but interesting as examples of the euphuistic gabble of the Elizabethan day, of which our degenerate stomachs, as we sit at those overloaded tables, grow easily wearied. The writing of such a book, as its author confesses, was 'an intermissive delectation' to the writer, but the reading of it has become, if a delectation to a few curious, a very intermissive one indeed.

It is not to be wondered at that under this midden of Latinisms the art of heraldry was smothered. The mere artist who, with a simple tradition in his mind, had been wont to paint shields of arms guided by a native sense of balance and proportion which books could not teach him, did not wait to hear the last lesson of Honour Dative which may be derived from Joseph's Coat. His place is taken by the ancestor of the respectable mechanic who fills it to-day, one whose subordinate brush could construct uninspired diagrams from standard patterns, which, although commonplace and spiritless, should be in strict accordance with the Book of the Thousand Rules. Until this book flare in the fiery dustbin, which, as we may piously hope, awaits all bad books, the artist and craftsman will do well to leave heraldry out of their day's work. But with the Book of the Thousand Rules once rejected their way will be cleared of the oppressive lumber which hindered them in the use of a beautiful art, and the most interesting motive of decoration will be given back to the cabinet-makers and the weavers, to the engravers, the enamellers and the jewellers.

Overboard then must go the 'sealed pattern' of the achievement of arms, the supporters, it may be of elephants or prancing hussars, treading delicately upon ribbon edges, the mantles

'tinctured of the principal colour and metal of the arms,' and the little 'crest-wreath' of the same, balanced like a Frankfort sausage on a helmet's cockscorn, having long since forgotten that it once turbaned round about the great helm. Round this same crest-wreath and its helm the rules buzz like flies. It seems that the wreath must have but six twists and no more of the metal and colour alternately, the laws of heraldry forbidding five twists or seven, and the helm must be 'a helmet of degree.' Truly the herald who devised the thrice ridiculous 'helmet of degree' struck a shrewder blow at common sense than any one of his fellow augurs, for his ingenious conceit has made foolscaps of all our crests. We may draw the helms of the Peer and the Squire sidelong, a convenient position for the display of most English crests, but it is doomed that the helms of the King and the Knight must ever be painted as full front to the artist. And now for the application of this rule to the depicting of the crest, which, built up in painted leather, wood or parchment, sat aloft upon the helm in old days. The Book of the Rules teaches us that, with the exception of some dozen crests set apart to be blazoned as '*affrontée*,' the crest, whether it be beast or bird, or Saracen's head, must always be drawn sidelong. In this the Peer and the Squire may find no cause for complaint, but the King and the Knight, whose helms must be thus topped with a sidelong crest, are in pitiful case. A familiar example of this is always before us. Our sovereign lord the King is provided by the Book of the Rules with a full-faced helm, and on this the crest of England, the crowned leopard, ill balanced on the arch ridge of a closed crown, must range from left to right, a position which gives the royal beast the air of one uneasily determined to jump off over the right ear of the helm. It may be added that a rule thus laying down that one side only of the crest may be shown has ended in our crests being treated as though they were plane surfaces or silhouettes having but one presentable side. This curious misconception of the meaning of the crest is especially to be noted in the modern grants of arms from the College of Heraldry. The absurdity is sometimes too much even for the 'heraldic stationer,' and the crest see-sawing on the little striped bâton of 'wreath' is often drawn as clear altogether of the helm.

Having parted with so much that was thrust upon us by the old heraldic writers, having rejected their art as a debased making of diagrams, their archæology as childish speculations,

their philosophy as a crack-brained pedantry, what remains of their authority as it comes down to us filtered through the handbooks of heraldry? When we find them, and them alone, responsible for the whole ragbag of jargonings which, as Sir Peter le Neve said in his wrath, cumber the memory without adding to the understanding, we shall surely hasten to reject the laws and rules with which they stuffed the little science of blazonry until it swelled into a sort of mad Euclid. Then it will be that the medieval blazonry, unmuddied by those middens of paper and ink, will assert its reasonable claims to the attention of antiquaries. First of these claims is its simplicity—in the space of an hour or two any man with his wits about him can learn all that he needs of it. It sets the great period of heraldry before us as our standard, and the heraldry that showed itself in the jousting yard and the fields of France is gloriously different from the heraldry of the study.

Above all things, it enables us to deal in reasonable fashion with the monuments, the seals, the carvings and the illuminations which we are at last beginning to study as something more to us than a peepshow for Dryasdust.

Examples of the need for a wider knowledge of old heraldry are not far to seek. It is not long since the Dean of York put forth a great sumptuous book on the important subject of the heraldry of York Minster, illustrated with the most beautiful pictures we have yet seen of ancient armorial glass. But being ignorant of our old English heraldry with a curiously comprehensive ignorance, the Dean, handbook to aid, not only essays the description of the medieval arms in glass and stone which so enrich the minster, but, heartened by his success, pads his folio with an ample treatise on armory, of which it may be said that Sir John Ferne or Sylvanus Morgan might have fathered it pridefully. In another field, and that a far more important one, I cannot but cite the six heavy volumes which the British Museum has issued as a catalogue of the seals deposited there. These laboriously wrought books, which must represent years of work, are a sad monument of the unwisdom of putting old wine into new bottles and attempting to decipher the seals of the men of the middle ages by the light of the farthing candles of the 'handbooks of heraldry.'

At the outset of our study of medieval armory we meet a difficulty in the fact that our earliest examples of blazonry are written as a rule in the French speech, which was so long in



use amongst the great folk and the lawyers. Something might be said for keeping blazon in this tongue, but the objections rise up at once. The French in which these blazons were written is a dead language on both sides the channel, and its literature is, to all but a few, a dead literature. The French of Froissart has been woefully academized, and if we blazoned in the new tongue we should be seeking new words for old ones with indifferent success. And moreover the most part of the English bring from the schoolroom but little French speech that will serve them outside the doors of a restaurant. We know too that the French blazon in French, the Italians blazon in Italian, the Spaniards in Spanish, and the Germans, although they have fallen into the modern error of over-description of details, yet describe arms in unmingled German. Few people, however, are aware of the strong precedent which exists for the blazoning of English arms after a more English fashion than that which obtains to-day. From the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we have wealth of examples to show that those who blazoned arms in French could also blazon them in stark, straightforward English. For the mass of words in doglatinized English and misspelt and misunderstood French which clot in the pages of the heraldry books there is neither early authority nor present need, being, as they are, nothing but the maggots of the armorists. There is no excuse for our use of adjectives in French of Stratford atte Bowe under a mysterious rule which decrees that those ending in *-ant* should keep the masculine form, whilst those ending in *-e* keep as invariably the feminine.

The new broom may surely swish about most of these epithets. There is no reasonable excuse for an English herald's description of the smoking chimney as *fumant*, the bloody hand as *embrued* with some one else's blood or as *distilling* its own. A bent bow explains itself without need of the word *flexed*. She whose golden hair is hanging down her back need not be labelled *crined or*, and it were better to call a round object round rather than *arrondie*. When we meet a man walking in our shield Mr. Boutell offers us the alternative of describing him as *ambulant* or *gradient*, neither of which words seems to throw any new light on the attitude. In a vast number of cases the real meaning of these words has been obscured by the practise of ignorant heralds. Thus a bar with its ends cut off is said to be *bumettée*. But *bumettée*, if it have



any meaning, signifies moistened or wetted, and we discover at the last that *bumettée* when applied to a bar is nothing but a misspelt misapprehension of the old French word *bamede*—the barrier which such a trunked bar represented. Once *bamede* has become *bumettée* its sphere of usefulness enlarges beyond the qualifying of bars or barrier. Thus nothing lets but our good Mr. Boutell shall apply it even to crosses. ‘A Cross having its four extremities cut off square, so that it does not extend in any direction to the border-lines of the shield, is *coupé* or *bumettée*.’ And in his glossary of heraldic terms the same author translates *bumettée* as ‘cut short at the extremities.’

This is but one of the score of instances of misapplied verbiage which meet us at an opening of the handbook. Everywhere we see that the deliberate exchange of good English for obscurity was effected as much at the cost of philology as of common sense by enthusiasts who believed that the science of armory, like a child’s kite, mounted the better for the long string of wastepaper tags which they fastened to its tail.

How many of these may be cast into the wastepaper basket which yawns for them will be seen as we take the handbook again and turn its leaves.

The figure of the shield meets us. To the basket at once with the points—honour point, nombril point, dexter chief point and their fellows. Honour point and nombril point are imaginings of the pedant’s day. A charge in the first quarter of the shield was in old time said to be ‘in the quarter’ or ‘in the cantel,’ so the clumsy phrase of dexter chief point may take its dismissal.

The colours come next. Sable, azure, vert and purple, although like many other words we shall keep in use, reminding us of the French root of much of the language of our armory, may serve our turn, having become a part of our own tongue; and gules must stay, if only for its ancient standing and curious descent. But *or* and *argent* may surely be jettisoned as base currency because they are strangers in English blazon until the Elizabethan heralds deliberately cast off *gold* and *silver* as clownish Anglicisms and unmeet ingredients in their new euphuistic patter. Here let us note that the handbooks warn us that once a colour, be it azure or gules, has been said in a blazon it must be azure or gules

no longer to us for the occasion, but may be darkly hinted at as 'the first,' 'the second,' or 'the third,' as the case may be. No ancient rule or modern reason exists for this bemusing of our sentence, and therefore if we have need to say 'gules' a twenty times in describing some new devised shield's tangled patchwork let us say 'gules' boldly for the twentieth time without stopping to track back with the thumbnail to recall whether gules was introduced as our first or fourth colour.

Of the long list of furs remain but vair, and ermine with its black tails upon white, and its reverse with white tails upon black, which is however so rare a device in ancient heraldry that some doubt exists as to what it should be styled. 'Ermines' as the handbooks have it, is an impossible description, not only because the word is too near to 'ermine' in sound, but because it was actually the form used for 'ermine' in nearly all the earlier English blazons, 'erminees' being the word then used for the white upon black. Erminoise and pean, counter-vair, potent and counter-potent, are words which we shall not encounter in our heraldry book of the future.

The checky or checkered field remains, and gobony must still be the word when a bend baston or fesse is measured into lengths of two alternating colours, but we may rid ourselves of *counter-compony*, for to the old painters a chief was a checkered chief, whether the checks ran in a pattern of two rows of checkers or three or four.

When we come to part our shield in colours the ancient armory will save us from some latinisms. Waldegrave's shield, parted down the midst in two colours, was blazoned as 'party silver and gules,' and *party per pale* is a redundancy of the later time. How then, it will be asked, was *party per pale* distinguished from *party per fesse*? It may be answered that *party per fesse* had no existence. A chief is the upper part of the shield and not necessarily the 'third part' of the handbooks. It may be narrow when the field below is filled with charges, it may be wide when it bears charges itself, and when (as in the arms of Fenwick) field and chief are both filled with charges it is wider still and assumes the appearance which the later writers, eager for a new entry in their dictionaries, styled 'party per fesse.' In this case, as in the case of all of the 'ordinaries,' the size or breadth, whether of chief, bend, cheveron or border, depends not upon the measuring tapes of the rules but upon the eye of the artist

seeing where balance and proportion lie in the single case before him.

Of the lines which divide the shield or vary the edgings of charges it may be noted that the conventional cloud edging called *nebuly* is very rare in the middle ages and not to be found at all in the early rolls. The word's appearance in modern blazoning (as in the arms of Blount and Lovell) is due to the fact that the later heralds, depicting a wavy line as they did with a feeble ripple, were convinced that the bold waving in the old examples must bear some different name. In considering the ancient heraldry, *nebuly*, or as Mr. Boutell would have it, *nebulée*, may be packed away with dovetailed lines, and with the invected line which in a Victorian grant of arms speaks to the antiquary as plainly as ever a neglected shop ticket upon our other modern purchases. *Crenellée* finds a better word in the old English *battled*, and *raguly* may make way for *ragged*. We do not speak of the famous ragged staff of Beauchamp as a staff *ragulée*.

When the shield is divided with stripes paly, bendy or barry, verbiage will be saved if we follow the old blazonry by recognizing that six divisions make the normal number of such stripes. *Barry silver and gules* therefore connotes to every one understanding heraldry *barry of six pieces*, and the like rule applies to the paly and bendy shields. When however a chief is imposed upon a barry coat the normal divisions will naturally be reduced to four. *Barry wavy* was commonly distinguished by the word wavy alone. *Wavy gold and gules* is therefore as ample a description of the arms of Lovell as is the handbook blazon of *Barry undée of six or ana gules*. *Bar-rulée* is a mock-French abomination which may be pilloried with *bumettée*. A barred coat of many bars, like the well known coat of Valence of Pembroke, was anciently described in the French as *burele*. The Boutells and Cussanses have jumped to the conclusion that this word is a diminutive of the word *barry*, and, its *u* being ignored, *burele* becomes *barrulée* for the handbooks, and *barruleet*, which is 'the diminutive of a bar,' follows in the same coinage. Here let us purge the heraldry books of the obsession of the 'diminutives of the ordinary.' A glance at the list of these must have driven many a student with but reasonable powers of memory from the study of heraldry. When we have allowed that there is a species of narrow bend called a baston, and that the little



bends which in some coats lie beside the bend are called cotises, what remains of the tribe of illegitimate descendants credited by the handbooks to the 'ordinaries'? Pallets and endorses, bendlets and ribands, barrulets, closets, escarpes, and the like should be brought to the bar of modern archæology charged with loitering in print without visible means of, or necessity for, existence. The *flasques* and *voiders* which are reckoned diminutives of the *flaunch* owe their origin to the practice of those armorists who, finding a second word or even a second spelling for the name of a charge, hastened to construct a new charge out of their *trouvaille*. Of the quarter Mr. Cussans, a typical armorist, tells us that 'examples of this charge are very rarely to be met with.' They are rare indeed in such books as that of Mr. Cussans, but in ancient heraldry this is invariably the word for the frequently occurring charge lately called the *canton*, and the word will serve us well enough for this charge, whilst the pedant's word *canton* for 'the diminutive of the quarter' will be dispensed with when we consider that, as has been said before, the size of 'ordinaries' varies freely with the nature of the composition, and the word quarter commits us to no rule for filling a fourth part of the shield's surface with the charge.

The lozenge is set down for us as a diminutive of the *fusil*, the *fusil* being described as an elongated lozenge. This again being one of those rules which would cramp the artist's freedom in drawing his charges, we may regard it with a natural suspicion. A *fusil*, we find, is a term for which we have no need unless it serves us as a word for those shuttle shaped divisions into which the ancient 'engrailing' divided bends and fesses. Its cousin the *rustre*, being only encountered in dictionaries of heraldry, need not trouble us.

A fret in its modern sense of a heraldic device formed of two bastons laced through a *mascle* is another 'ordinary' to be rejected of the antiquary and the artist. The ancient figure the fret, or *fretty* as it was more frequently termed, formed by the interlacing of some six crossing bastons, is the sole figure of the kind discoverable before the making of the dictionaries of arms. *Planché* himself is entrapped by the assumption of the armorist that the modern figure followed the use of the middle ages, and blunders sadly when he lays down that *Harington's* fret may be the descendant of an earlier 'fretty' coat.



The common charge of a mullet may surely for philology's sake be allowed to drop its modern spelling for its ancient and less fishlike spelling of molet, and the pierced molet seems to have a single and suggestive word awaiting it in the 'rowel' of the old rolls of arms. The *estoile* also has every authority for dropping its foreign dress and shining as a plain English 'star.' Whether our labels have three, four or five pendants is a matter which may concern the painter of arms, but the armorist should take no verbal heed of their variety, save perhaps in such a case as the curious label of many points which was borne by Sayer de Quinci.

No charge has been the victim of the armorists in such degree as the cross. They have vied with one another through the ages in wringing from their imaginations new shapes into which the emblem of our salvation might be chipped or writhen. Here alone may the modern writers take credit to themselves beyond the measure which may be allowed to their fathers. At a comparatively early date Gerard Leigh had produced forty-six different crosses for his delighted readers, but even the wisdom of the seventeenth century is surpassed by Robson's *British Herald* with its two hundred and twenty-two, whilst I hesitate to say how many figure in Mr. Elvin's modern dictionary of heraldry, a work of which I can only say with a certain admiration that the very funeral rites of our ancient national heraldry might be read from its inspired pages.

If we set aside from these crosses those which were manifestly evolved by the armorists as so much padding for the dictionaries there remain still a number to be resolved into their originals. The rule of the armorist was here, as elsewhere, to make on the one hand a fresh word of every antick spelling or variant of a recognized word, and on the other hand a new word was to be found for every pictured cross which the old artists, in their search for the beautiful line, had varied from the pattern which the laws of the later armorists were to declare unchangeable. Thus flowery, flory, flurty and floretty—all these words signify a cross whose form in actual use varied with the fashion of the time, but whose distinguishing note was to be found in the fleurs-de-lys sprouting from its ends, the 'crois od les bouts flurtees' of the old rolls. Yet they are now reckoned four crosses, although no two armorists can be found to agree upon their exact differences. In the work of

Woodward and Burnet, Burnet is found differing from Woodward on the grave point of the distinction between *flory* and *flurty*, and Burnett dead, Woodward points his case in notes to a new edition of their book. For an example of the second custom of constructing separate words for artistic variants of the same form—the cross paty is a case in point. The unvarying use of the middle ages points us to a certain type of cross—as found in the arms of Latimer—for a cross paty. But not one of our modern armorists is content with this description. The three centuries of the heraldic age he tacitly sets down as mistaken. Paty as an epithet he applies only to that variety of flat-ended cross which the man in the street calls Maltese, and which, although very early armory might sometimes place it amongst crosses paty, the later middle ages found an adjective for in the word formy. The true cross paty, when encountered by the armorist in its plump shape (fashion of 1300), is ticketed cross *patoncée*; but when the fashion of 1450 thins its arms it straightway becomes a cross *flory*. For those who affect to regard heraldry as an unreformable science because of the wide acceptance of an iron tradition which makes the last development of its rules as fixed as the definitions of Euclid, we may recommend the comparison of the last half-dozen handbooks of heraldry, of which no two agree in their efforts to reconcile the old crosses with their modern tickets.

The antiquary will concern him very little with this tangle of crosses. 'You bring me so many crosses that I am in a manner weary of them,' he will say, as even a character in one of the heraldic dialogues is made to say in a curiously convincing phrase. With ancient examples before him he will recognize some half-dozen crosses in frequent use, with two or three more variants of rare occurrence. Elvin's and Edmondson's lists will trouble him not at all, and unless for enlargement of the understanding he will never win to a knowledge of shy varieties such as the cross *nowy-degraded-conjoined*. In one of those interminable lists a certain cross is found whose expressive name may answer for the most of its fellows. Therefore we draw it from obscurity. It is the cross *anserated* or cross *issuing out of geoses' heads*!

And now to speak of the beasts and fowls and other living things to whose shapes the art of armory owes its most fantastic beauty. For their conduct in their shield prison the armorist has exhausted ingenuity in the devising of rules upon

rules. No paw is lifted without a word-shackle snapped upon it. Yet with a few words on the conventional positions of the lion, the beast most often found upon the shield, whose very antiquity as the earliest of charges has caused conventions to arise round about him, the natural history book of the heralds may be left to the philologist, to whom a strange word is a truffle to be joyfully rooted up.

The lion on the shield is the whelp of convention—a monster like his bastard kinsman the griffon. No attempt is ever made to paint this royal beast in colours which hint at the colour of a mortal hide. Like the eagle he is at ease in blue, gold or checkers. His natural position is held to be when he stands ramping at the world, claws to the fore and lashing with his tail. Therefore the lion rampant in old blazon as in modern French may be 'a lion' needing no further epithet until he drops to his paws and becomes passant. It will be found that we follow the habit of the ages of heraldry and save ourselves needless words if we recognize that the lion looking sidelong towards the spectator may be styled a leopard. Even the modern armorists recognize this when they come to describe the lion's face used as a charge by itself, in which case it has always been blazoned as a leopard's head. Now as the customary position of the leopard is passant so the word leopard used alone serves for what the handbooks would describe as *a lion passant gardant*. A ramping lion with the full face seen, as in the arms of Brocas, was emblazoned as a leopard rampant. Early heraldry knows nothing of lions *regardant* as the modern word is, signifying looking backwards with turned heads. A sole exception may be the well known Welsh coat of three skulking lions with tails between their legs. But if it be needful to describe such a lion in modern heraldry it may be as well to note that *regardant* and *gardant* are in effect the same word, having the same meaning, and were used indifferently in old blazons—the splitting of them into two meanings being a piece of the usual heraldic illiteracy. *A lion looking backward* is better English and better sense than the *lion rampant regardant* of the dictionaries.

Let us say again that for the blazoning of beasts and the like some knowledge of the customary conventions of armorial art is very needful if we would save ourselves a mouthful of foolish words. Keeping before us the flat-iron shaped shield-form we shall see that three ramping lions are commonly set



upon it, two above one, and that for the artist's reasons as they fill the shield space best in that position. This is so commonly recognized that only those enamoured of words follow the modern French custom of adding the caution 'two and one' to the blazon. But the same principle can be carried further, as the early folk did carry it to the great simplifying of heraldic



speech. A modern herald blazons the arms of the King of England much as Mr. Boutell would do—with '*gules, three lions passant guardant, in pale, or*,'—the lavish and meaningless commas will be noted. But the long *passant* stripe of the leopard's body could never be accommodated by an artist to the 'two and one.' The three leopards are therefore by a natural movement of the artist placed barwise one under the other, and *gules three leopards gold* is all the blazon needed if we would follow the example of the ancients. *Three running grey-bounds* would by the same rule naturally place themselves barwise and rearrange themselves as 'two and one' if we drove a chevron between them. Three lions passant will be set barwise, but three owls or three eagles 'two and one.' Three swimming salmon will lie barwise also, but three dolphins, a fish which we draw bowed in its leap, cramp themselves unless placed two and one. *In pale* therefore is another phrase to be rid of.

Of the eagle we may say that as he is always borne *displayed* until we come to some late coats in which he perches with



closed wing, the word *displayed* is redundant. *De or a un egle de vert*, said the ancient armorist, and the blazon was enough. The griffin follows the lion in his natural position which is rampant, in which case *rampant* is unnecessary, and we may disregard the armorists who have invented the word *segreant* for the ramping griffin.

The enthusiasm of word-making rose to strange heights when the later armorists approached the brute creation like spectacled Adams to find dog-Latinisms for their every part and attribute. Birds of prey were to be *armed* and the other birds *beaked and membered*. Their wings were to be described as *overt, inverted or disclosed*. The common heraldic placing of fish as upright makes them *hauriant*, the swimming fish is *naiant* and the diving fish *urinant*, though our Mr. Boutell, dreading ambiguities, spells it *uriant*. The dolphin must be qualified as *embowed*, although the arm painters never figured him otherwise. Griffons are *segreant*, horses are *forcenée*, grazing oxen are *pasquant*, and the wood wild boar is *armed and unguled*.

All such charges are peppered freely with the word 'proper,' a word of little or no value. *Sable three swans* is a complete blazon for a coat, it being to be guessed that the swans are in their usual colours, that is white, with red beaks and legs. *Silver three corbies* leaves no room for daubing the corbie with blue or red, and *gold three Cornish choughs* demands black birds with beaks and legs of red. The popinjay is green, and we are free to touch his poll and legs with red if we will. Trees and flowers, with the exception of roses, are of custom in the colours nature gave them, and nowhere arises the necessity for clapping 'proper' to a blazon. If something of the sort were necessary our own neglected language gives us a better phrase in 'after his kind' or 'of his kind.' *Couped* is another word of which we may be sparing when we deal with the heads of beasts or birds, as the fact of cutting squarely off is inferred whenever the word 'rased' is not employed. In all things the law cares nothing for little matters of detail. A man blazoning at his leisure may specify that his lion should be said to be *langued* and *armed gules*, but the artist may paint these ornaments gold or azure or leave them out altogether and yet not err, and the barbs and seeds of roses likewise follow the rules of the colour scheme and no others.

'No care for little matters' must be set before us as a clear

rule. A man's hand is drawn cut off at the wrist and palm forward, but *couped at the wrist* and *appaumée* are needless, nor need it be noted whether the hand be *dexter* or *sinister* save in a case where the punning blazon of such a name as Poingdestre must be brought in. Malmaynes should surely have *left* hands, but they are not found so in old figures.

We recognize that our heraldry rose in the French tongue, and many of its words must always savour of it, but let us strive to use our own broad speech wherever it may displace a pedantry of the decadence. When words of French root must serve us, let us follow old authority in Englishing their form as far as may be. The old French *pate* soon became *party* in English, so let us avoid making it modernized French as *patée* and fly the meaningless illiteracy of *pattée*. Let *nouée* be English knotted, and *volant* flying. *Garbs* and *annulets* are English sheaves and rings. *Clad* is a better word than *vested*, and *burning* explains itself more clearly than *incensed*. If we have a tooth for strange words let them remind us of old English pedertries of the chase and the wold, and of the furniture of the foray or hawking party. An antiquary may well defend the ancient word from the latinism or modernism which would devour it. Our parrot may rest as a popinjay, the fir-cone may remain an English 'pineapple' and the mole a moldiwarp, and the *panache* of Mr. Boutell's chapter on crests may be again the 'bush of feathers' of the old knights. Above all let us cherish the punning word, Latin, French or English, which explains so many strange charges in the shield. Harts must be harts for us in a shield of Hartwell, but bucks and deer in shields of Buxton and Dereham. The birding bolt of Boson is a *boson*, and the staff in Palmer's arms a palmer's staff, although the same staff in Burdon's arms is a punning *bordoun*. The cats in Pusey's arms and the cat in Pudsey's crest should all be pussycats to the English blazoner, and Dymoke the Champion has certainly a moke's ears for his crest although the family now make the ears of the more genteel fur of the hare. Almost every out of the way charge conceals your pun. Wunhale's three pillows hint at some ancient English word for a pillow allied to *wonne* a pleasure and *bals* the neck; Vane's three gauntlets are the old *gauns* or *wauns*, whilst Wilkinson's unicorn or *lycorne* certainly shows forth that Wilkinson, for the better playing upon his name, split it into Wil-lycorne-son.

The tangled skein of the story of heraldry can only be followed in a rambling essay. Let us sum up the position in which the antiquary finds himself to-day.

His handbooks and guides show themselves as the compilations for the most part of men whose enthusiasm was supported by slender scholarship without judgement or breadth of view, who decanted their new wine into old bottles without a gleam of humourous mistrust.

The handbooks differ amongst themselves, and offer no standard, however mistaken, of authority in heraldry.

The handbooks are, despite their flavouring of second-hand research, the thin extract of the old heraldry books.

The old heraldry books jargoned for sweet jargoning's sake witless symbolism and metaphysic of Bedlam to the delectation of Tom Fool and his brethren who, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were great readers and loved a tall folio. The break between these books and the medieval practice of heraldry is complete, and their childish archæology made no attempt to close it. Their systems were too deliberately set up to be regarded as in any sense developments of the past, and their speech was darkened of set purpose with absurdities.

Beyond handbook and folio lies the field of medieval heraldry. Its records are too ample to allow us any misunderstanding of their nature, and an important class of them will soon be open to public study in the shape of the rolls of arms. The study of these and their comparison with the ancient personal seals and the evidences of the monuments will then be the task before the armorist-antiquary, and this enquiry can have but one result.

But although the result be assured there are already indications that those who would bring common-sense to sweeten this dingy corner of archæology will do so at the wonted peril of the image-breaker. Especially from two quarters criticism and opposition may be expected.

It will be urged that the early days of heraldry used up all the simple devices, and that, when new arms are to be devised, barbarous new methods and an elaborated jargon must be employed for the mere ensuring of novelty. Such a criticism will however be impossible if the art of heraldry could regain its place and set the pseudo-science of heraldry under its feet. The old methods and practice in the hands of a competent designer would be as fruitful as ever in new combinations and



simple and vigorous results. To deny this is to confess either to an ignorance of the practice of heraldry or to a mind barren of original effort.

Criticism such as this may be easily met. The simplifying and making reasonable of English heraldry has a more serious enemy in the path. The antiquary who is content to live and learn, the architect and the artist will welcome a new movement towards sanity and comprehension, but there remains the personage whom Mr. St. John Hope has christened for more distinction 'the Antiquarian.' That the past century has scantily left one stone upon another of dead antiquarian creeds affects him not a whit. He declares himself in this as in like matters 'in favour of established formula.' In the old days he said this as doggedly when innovators robbed Captain Clutterbuck of the established formula that a round arch was a Saxon arch and a pointed one a Norman. The private expression of some of the opinions of this present essay brought against the writer an antiquarian with furious quill, who maintained in black print that not only was the whole system of the handbooks an ark to be kept secure from enquiring hand, but as the antiquarian's favourite handbook shortened gules into *gu.* and azure into *az.* even so the abbreviations themselves became inspired, and the amplifying them back into gules and azure was 'ugly and ridiculous' as well as wicked. How the chopped fragments were to be pronounced by the pious was left uncertain.

Archæology is perhaps the only science in which such controversy as this would be possible in serious newspapers or reviews, and towards the unhappy subject of armory the duller minds amongst archæologists inevitably tend. No other subject, perhaps, offers at the cost of an uncritical browsing along a shelf of books the opportunity for a barndoor-fowl's flight into scientific literature. A dozen handbooks are probably a-making to-day, and the familiar tags will appear with new surnames on their bindings.

But the day is certainly at hand when the committal to paper of long and misunderstood lists of words will fail to equip the antiquarian for an honoured place on the bookshelves.

Dryasdust has been unhorsed, and we shall see whether Master Mumblazon, the least of his squires, has a surer seat.

OSWALD BARRON.



THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN<sup>1</sup>

## I

## THE RISE OF THE GENTRY

NOT even our mobile columns in South Africa are quite so heavily equipped as the modern historian. He is expected to possess an impartial judgment, a sound knowledge of the classics, a style which will carry him through deep places and along paths which shine only with reflected light, an understanding of most European languages, a power of marshalling statistics, and some acquaintance with the geology and natural features of the country he proposes to traverse. Of late years it has been thought that if he chooses also to study the people who live in that country; if he masters their speech and handwriting; if he makes himself familiar with their beliefs and superstitions, with their popular poems and romances, with their arts and architecture, with their manners and customs, with their mode of dress and style of living; if, in short, no longer satisfied with impressions derived at second hand from others, he turns the light of his own lantern upon the past, he cannot fairly be charged with mere frivolousness, or with a disregard for the dignity of his office. It would, perhaps, be pushing these new and dangerous ideas too far to suggest that the historian might also pay a little attention to the different classes and orders of society in the age of which he is treating; and indeed, as the intelligent British public is well aware, such studies are of purely antiquarian or archæological interest. Yet history would be better written if medieval society were better understood. It may fairly be maintained that the growth and development of a nation depend not so much upon its geographical position and natural resources, not so much upon the military strength or weakness of its neighbours, as upon the division of classes and their relation to each other and to the soil. This in a degree is true of the world in general, but in how much higher a degree of the island in

<sup>1</sup> This article is part of a study of medieval classes, dealing also with the franklin, husbandman, yeoman and villein, which the writer hopes some day to publish in book form.

which we live? In England, classes at first were nations superimposed one upon another. The serf was a Briton,<sup>1</sup> the villein a Saxon, the socager in many instances a Dane, the freeholder almost invariably a Norman. Here, for some reason never yet fully explained, social evolution ran a different course from that which it followed upon the continent. Here there was never the same gulf between the noble and the *roturier*; here peasants and nobles stood together in resisting the encroachments of the Crown, and a sturdy race of yeomen-freeholders came into being, who proved their worth in the French wars of Edward III. and Henry V., and the campaigns of Cromwell and Marlborough. This bond of sympathy and mutual respect between the nobility and gentry on one hand and the poor freeholder on the other, founded, as Bishop Stubbs suggests, upon the possession of the parliamentary franchise, seems to me the most remarkable fact in English history, the national characteristic which differentiates political and social development in England from that which obtained in France or Germany, Italy or Spain.

I imagine that few, even among students of history, have formed a clear idea of the stratification of medieval society. To deal first with the class of gentlemen, every one of course has heard of the rhyme which John Ball circulated in the peasant revolt of 1381:—

When Adam dived and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?

Every one is acquainted with Tennyson's defence of the 'grand old name of gentleman,' and with the antique song which sings the praises of the 'good old English gentleman, all of the olden time.' Some have dipped into Shirley's *Noble and Gentle Men of England*, wherein the author traces the history of three hundred families still existing and holding landed property, whose ancestors were of knightly or gentle rank before the commencement of the sixteenth century. A few perhaps have studied in Strutt's *Dress and Habits of the People of England* the illustrations, reproduced from illuminated manuscripts, which represent in their actual costume and surroundings 'gentlemen of the fourteenth century.' As to the origin of the class, Freeman traces it back at a very remote period into Normandy. 'Early in the eleventh century,' he

<sup>1</sup> I am aware that this view is not generally accepted.

writes, 'the order of "gentlemen" as a separate class seems to be forming as something new. By the time of the conquest of England the distinction seems to have been fully established.'<sup>1</sup> Both Macaulay and Hume speak of the Norman gentleman, and Green points out that in the reign of Edward I. 'the number of the country gentry and of the more substantial yeomanry was increasing with the increase of the national wealth.'<sup>2</sup> Gardiner dwells upon the general feeling against gentlemen in 1381, and their duties as justices of the peace. Stubbs describes in picturesque detail the domestic economy of the country gentleman's household at the close of the Middle Ages, and defines the class of gentry, 'men of family, of worship and coat armour,' as including knights and esquires and occupying a position intermediate between the barons and the yeomen.<sup>3</sup> Hallam speaks of the 'simplicity with which the gentry lived under Edward I.,'<sup>4</sup> and tells us that in the days of the Plantagenets we find in the gradation of ranks the peers, the gentry or principal landowners, many of them distinguished by knighthood and all by bearing coat armour, the yeomanry, the burgesses, and lastly the peasantry and labourers.<sup>5</sup>

If we turn to original documents we shall find the word 'gentilman' and its Norman-French equivalents, *Gentil* and *Gentil-homme*, in common use at an early date. 'Gentilman,' as a surname, is met with in the first half of the fourteenth century. Langmead, in his *Constitutional History*, refers to a suit of 1353-4, in which the addition of *gentilis homo* after a man's name was held to be a sufficient description.<sup>6</sup> Froissart, in the seventeenth chapter of his first book, speaks of an entertainment given at Warwick by *le gentil d'Angleterre*. In the parliamentary rolls and statutes such expressions are often met with. In 1305-6, the armour, riding horses, jewels, clothes and plate of *chivalers et gentils hommes* are excepted out of the assessment of the 30th granted to the king.<sup>7</sup> In 1360-1, we find mention of *gentil homme d'estat d'avoir faucoun*.<sup>8</sup> In 1363, a sumptuary law regulates the costume of *esquiers et toutes*

<sup>1</sup> *Enc. Brit.* xvii. 540-1. This passage is quoted in the *New English Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the English People* (1878), i. 336.

<sup>3</sup> *Constit. Hist.* (1878), iii. 544, 548.

<sup>4</sup> *Middle Ages* (1878), iii. 370.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cowell's *Interpreter* (1701), *in verbo*; Langmead's *History* (1896), 287.

<sup>7</sup> *Rot.* i. 270.

<sup>8</sup> *Stat.* i. 369.



*manieres de gentils gentz desouth l'estat de cbivaler.*<sup>1</sup> In 1376, a method is laid down for dealing with the tattered hordes of beggars, who infested the highways and pretended to be *Gentils et Hommes d'armes ou Archers*, fallen to decay in the wars.<sup>2</sup> In 1381, a pardon is granted to the *Seigneurs, Gentils et autres*, who had compromised themselves during the insurrection of villeins, and had slain divers persons without process of law.<sup>3</sup> In 1405-6 and again in 1429, we meet with the phrase *les gentils et autres gents du roiaume.*<sup>4</sup>

Nothing then would appear to be more clearly established than the existence, from the twelfth century onwards, of a class of country gentlemen which included knights and esquires, and held an intermediate position between the barons and the yeomanry. This is the accepted theory of medieval classes, stated for us in the first instance by the great writers whom I have already named, and received without question by the new school of historians as well as by the old; for Denton explains the word 'gentleman' as indicating in the fourteenth century 'one who lived on the rental of his lands,'<sup>5</sup> and Trevelyan in his *Age of Wycliffe*<sup>6</sup> deals at some length with the 'social position and political policy of the gentry,' and with the 'relation of the country gentlemen to the nobles.' It is a theory which has always held the field in English literature. Shakespeare in one of his plays<sup>7</sup> introduces a 'gentleman' of the reign of King John; Scott has much to say in *Ivanhoe* concerning the yeomanry of the twelfth century; and indeed there is hardly a modern poem or romance dealing with Plantagenet or Norman times in which country gentlemen or yeomen do not play a prominent part.

How presumptuous therefore must the reader think me, when, in view of the facts and authorities already cited, I ask him to consider the possibility that our poets, our novelists, and our historians one and all have been at fault! I can only protest that I yield to no man in respect and admiration for Stubbs and Freeman, Hallam and Macaulay, but even Homer sometimes nods. How often in the light of modern research have the most familiar facts of history proved to be fictions; how largely error still lingers in pages which aim at nothing but

<sup>1</sup> *Stat.* i. 380.    <sup>2</sup> *Rot.* ii. 332.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 103A.    <sup>4</sup> *Stat.* ii. 157, 243.

<sup>5</sup> *England in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 110, note.    <sup>6</sup> p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> *King John*, Act i, Scene 1: 'Your faithful servant I, a gentleman born in Northamptonshire, and eldest son, as I suppose, to Robert Falconbridge.'



the truth! The structure of medieval society is still a dark and mysterious subject. Stubbs, our greatest writer on constitutional history, often deploras the doubt and uncertainty in which it is involved. He considers the evolution of the villein class extremely obscure, and can only hazard one or two conjectures upon it; he finds it 'impossible to enquire with complete certainty' into the status of the smaller freeholders; he cannot explain what men are intended by the term *vadletti*. Other historians have felt the same difficulty but have been less honest in acknowledging it. Thus, to give an example, we should all like to cultivate a closer acquaintance with Chaucer's franklin and with that important political personage the forty-shilling freeholder. Why do our histories with one consent dismiss these interesting characters in a few guarded words, carefully avoiding any discussion upon their status and surroundings? If the writers had been sure of their ground, would they not have treated these as types of medieval society, would they not have pictured for us the franklin's hall and chamber, his household arrangements and mode of life, and have traced how the poorer freeholder laid out every penny of those forty shillings? Until such points have been elucidated the history of the English people can never be rightly understood. But my argument goes further than this. I would urge that, until the position and relations of the various classes in medieval times have been defined and determined, our historians are building upon a foundation of sand. To illustrate the extreme importance of such studies, and the danger that they may upset the conclusions with which we are all familiar, let us assume for the sake of argument that medieval society was not subdivided, as has been generally supposed, into nobles, knights, gentlemen and yeomen. Let us assume that in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were, broadly speaking, but two classes,<sup>1</sup> the *nobiles* or tenants in chivalry, comprising earls, barons, knights, esquires

<sup>1</sup> Before the Conquest we have eorls, ceorls and theows; after the Conquest but two classes, for the ceorl has become a villein. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a great gulf between the freeholder and the villein or burgess. The son of even the meanest freeholder was in wardship to his lord (Maitland's *Court Baron*, p. 103), and it was disparagement to marry him to the daughter of a villein or burgess (Du Cange, under *Disparagare*, *Obnoxatio*; Hallam's *Middle Ages*; Coke's *Institutes*, 1628, i. 80). In Scotland also it was unlawful to marry the daughter of a freeholder 'with ane burgesse man, or with ane villaine' (Skene, *De Verborum Sign*). The ordeal for the

and franklins, and the *ignobiles*, consisting of villeins, citizens and burgesses ; that a great order of franklins or free-tenants was forming in the latter half of the twelfth century, owing to the pressure of military service upon the lords of manors and the desire of the latter to surround themselves with tenants who could be depended upon to fight under their banners and to do suit at their courts ; that this order, or subdivision of the *nobiles*, bound together without distinction of rank or birth poor freeholders and persons whom we should now describe as wealthy and distinguished country gentlemen, and that it long held the balance of political power, supporting the barons against the usurpations of the Crown and the Crown against the ambition of the greater feudatories. Let us assume that the yeomanry,<sup>1</sup> or order of tenant-farmers, sprang into existence after

freeman was by hot iron, for the burgess or villein by water (Bigelow's *Placita*, p. 231 ; *Glanvill*, xiv. 1). Any freeman who took to public trading was held to 'degenerate from the dignity of his rank' (*Dialogue of the Exchequer*, ii. xiii.). In the fourteenth century the position of the burgess was anomalous, but he was still theoretically a villein, or at best a freedman as opposed to a freeman. The ruling citizens of corporate towns are sometimes spoken of as *nobiles*, perhaps in the sense that they were free tenants.

<sup>1</sup> Our historians have misunderstood the meaning of the terms 'yeoman' and 'husbandman.' The Petition against Livery of 1400-1 and the Commission of 1433 describe all who are not knights and esquires as 'yeomen,' and it is clear that a great many lords of manors and representatives of ancient houses must have been included in this class (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 478 ; iv. 456). 'Yeoman' was a designation which at first expressed military rank, and in a fifteenth century vocabulary I find *scutiger* rendered as 'geman.' Professor Skeat in his *Etymological Dictionary* derives yeoman from *ga*, a district or village. This is impossible. The word 'yeoman' cannot be traced before the fourteenth century, and in the word-books of the fifteenth it is translated 'as *effebus*, *valectus*. It is an English rendering of the older Norman-French *valet*, a young man or page. In 1279-80 Roger de Wanstede held land in sergeanty in that place by the service of finding one *valet* for eight days at his own charges, armed with pourpoint, iron cap and lance, to guard the castle of Portsmouth in time of war. Hewitt, *Ancient Arms*, i. 239 ; see also *Archæologia*, xxvi. 328-9. In the ordinances made by the Earl of Shrewsbury at his sieges in Mayne the archers are described as 'yeomen,' while the men-at-arms are apparently spoken of as 'gentellmen' (Nicholas, *Agincourt*, app. 42-3). In these ordinances the form 'yogmen' occurs, and in the statute of 33 Henry VIII. cap. 10 we have the word at full length as 'yongemen.' I have met in the reign of Elizabeth with yeomen who were lords of manors and with others whose incomes were equal to four or five thousand a year of modern money. 'Husbandman' in the first half of the fifteenth century means simply 'householder,' or head of a family, and has nothing to do with husbandry. Mr. Barron has pointed out to me a document in which the eldest son of an esquire is described as a husbandman.

the great pestilence of 1349, which by increasing the price of labour compelled the abandonment of landlord cultivation and led to the practice of letting lands on lease ; that the 'order of gentleman as a separate class was forming as something new,' not, as Freeman imagined, in the twelfth century, but in the fifteenth ; that, deserted by the wealthier families, the franklin class fell into decay, lost its political importance and sank into the yeomanry ; that its members, as not being of 'gentill berthe,' were excluded by law from Parliament and by prejudice from the shrievalty, and that the poorer free-tenants, as 'persons of small substance and no value,' were deprived of the franchise and rendered incapable of serving upon juries. Let us assume that as time went on and the heralds preached their evil gospel of gentility, the gulf widened between rich and poor ; that the gentry ceased to intermarry with the yeomanry, to visit them at their houses, to attend their weddings and stand as sponsors at the christening of their children ; that a bitter and jealous feeling grew up which made itself felt at last in the wars of the Cavaliers and Roundheads. If this were a true theory of classes, should we not be obliged to reconsider our whole view of English history ? Would not such discoveries throw a new light upon the stability of our institutions, the military strength of the nation, the absence of aristocratic feeling, the friendliness and want of ceremony which marked the relations between barons, knights and freeholders ?

We are dealing then with something more than a mere verbal distinction between esquires and gentlemen, yeomen and franklins. I hope to show that in the struggle for English liberty the poorer freeholders were drawn to the side of the barons and knights not, as Stubbs has suggested,<sup>1</sup> by the accident of the parliamentary franchise, but by the fellow-feeling which naturally exists amongst members of the same class. A wide gulf, as regards both birth and tenure, was stretched between freeholder and villein, but from the earls and barons down to the richer franklin who served as sheriff for his county or represented it in Parliament, and the poorest freeholder who drew a bow at Poitiers or Agincourt, we have to do with but a single class, differenced only by undetermined gradations of wealth and position and power.

It may sound a sweeping statement, but there were no

<sup>1</sup> *Constit. Hist.* (1878) iii. 554.



gentlemen in the middle ages. There were knights, esquires<sup>1</sup> and *valetti*, all military titles as colonel and captain and sergeant are with us, but not gentlemen or yeomen. No one ever described himself, or was described by others, as a gentleman before the year 1413—to be precise before September 29 in that year—and no class of gentlemen can be traced before the third decade of the fifteenth century. This is a rule so exact that it may be used as a test of the date and authenticity of documents. It may safely be laid down that any charter earlier than 1413 which so describes a principal or witness is an impudent forgery; that any glossary or *nominale* which renders *generosus* as ‘gentryman’<sup>2</sup> was drawn up in the fifteenth century; that any romance, ballad, or cycle of ballads, in which gentlemen are introduced amongst the characters portrayed cannot have been written before the time of Henry V. Thus, to give one or two instances, Polwhele in his *History of Cornwall* (i. 25), speaking of the English army before Calais in 1346, remarks that the pay was at the rate of two shillings for a knight, eighteen pence for an esquire, two shillings for a gentleman and his servant, and threepence for an archer. We know at once, without glancing at the manuscript from which he professes to be quoting that it makes no such statement. Again, when Rogers tells us<sup>3</sup> that at the determination feast of Richard Holand in 1395 cloth of two qualities, ‘for the suit of gentlefolk (*generosi*) and servants,’ was provided, we conclude that he has not verified his quotation, and on turning to the document referred to we find that it speaks not of gentlefolks but of esquires. The material was not for *generosi* but *armigeri*, and the phrase *secta generosorum*, though commonly used at a later period, is never met with before the year 1424.

In the reign of Elizabeth we meet with many lists of the ‘knights, esquires, gentlemen and freeholders’ of the various counties, but in earlier times, whenever the different classes or distinctions of rank are enumerated, gentlemen are strangely absent. The poll-tax of 1512 gives us after knights

<sup>1</sup> Titles change their meaning. We should not nowadays speak of a baron as ‘John Audeley, esquire,’ of an earl as ‘Humphrey de Bohun, esquire, Earl of Hereford and Essex,’ or of a king as ‘*Willelmus Armiger*’ (see Coke’s *Institutes*, 1642, ii. 167; Spelman’s Glossary, under ‘*Armiger*’; and Selden’s *Titles of Honour*, p. 442).

<sup>2</sup> See Wright’s *O. E. Vocab.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Agric.* i. 121; ii. 643; iii. 495.



and esquires, not gentlemen, but ‘persons having lands and rents to the value of £40 *per annum* or above.’<sup>1</sup> In Sir John Fortescue’s treatise on the laws of England, written about the year 1470, he dwells upon the wealth of the rural districts and the wide distribution of landed property. No hamlet, he tells us, was so small that there was not to be found in it a knight, an esquire or a franklin, and also other free tenants and many yeomen. In a poem on England’s commercial policy composed in the latter half of the fifteenth century, ‘alle maner of men’ are explained as consisting of ‘knyghtis, squyers and alle the comynalte.’<sup>2</sup> The Cheshire Petition of 1450 was presented in the name of the ‘Abbotes, Priours and all the Clergy, Barons, Knyghtis, Squiers and all the comminaltee’ of the county palatine.<sup>3</sup> In a curious certificate of non-villeinage, granted in 1446 by John, Lord Darcy, to a certain John of the Hall of Temple Newsome in Yorkshire, the recipient is made to protest against certain reports which had been spread abroad to his disadvantage. It has been commonly said, he complains, that he is Lord Darcy’s villein and bondman regardant, ‘amongez estatz, knyghtes, squyers and comyners.’<sup>4</sup> The London and Middlesex subsidy rolls of 1435–6 and 1412 show that there were in those years many knights and esquires resident in the city and county, but not a single gentleman.<sup>5</sup> In Higden’s *Polychronicon* (before 1363), and in the two English translations made in 1387 and 1432–50, it is stated as characteristic of our fellow countrymen that every class aped the manners and costume of that immediately above it, ‘wherefore hit is seen oftetymes that a yoman<sup>6</sup> dothe represente as the state of a esqwier, an esqwier of a knyghte, a knyghte of a lorde, a lorde of a duke, a duke off a kynge.’<sup>7</sup> In the Commission of May 1, 1434,<sup>8</sup> and the Petition against Livery of 1400,<sup>9</sup> a scale is laid down whereby offenders are to be fined according to their status. It is proposed that a knight shall forfeit £40 for offending against the statute; an esquire, £20; a *yoman ou vadlet*, £10. In the poll-tax of 1379, and in the statute which lays down the method of assessment, the different ranks in life are carefully distinguished from each other.

<sup>1</sup> Statute 4 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, ii. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia*, lvii. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Yorks Archæol.* iv. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæol. Journal*, xlv. 56, and Subsidy Roll  $\frac{23}{50}$ .

<sup>6</sup> *Vernaculus*, more properly a countryman.

<sup>7</sup> ii. 171.

<sup>8</sup> *Rot. Parl.* iv. 456.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 478.

Every baron, banneret or knight was to pay forty shillings; every bachelor and every esquire who ought by statute to be a knight, twenty shillings; every esquire of less estate and every substantial merchant, half a mark; every esquire who had neither lands, rent nor chattels, but was in service or had been armed, a quarter of a mark. Then, after the assessment of ecclesiastics, lawyers, mayors, aldermen and merchants, we return to landowners. Every sergeant and franklin, according to his estate, was to pay half or a quarter of a mark. Farmers of manors, parsonages and granges, cattle dealers and all other merchants of mean merchandise were, according to their income, to pay half a mark, a quarter of a mark, two shillings or twelve pence. The indentures fastened to the returns show that these were made 'according to the estate *and degree* of the persons contained in them, but the commissioners returned no one as a gentleman. In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, in *Piers Plowman* and in the *Lytel Feste of Robyn Hode*, medieval society is drawn for us to the life; we meet in all three with knights, esquires, merchants, franklins and yeomen, but not with gentlemen. One feels inclined to ask with John Ball, 'Who was then the gentleman?'

But I shall be referred no doubt to the 'List of gentry of the land,'<sup>1</sup> which Fuller in his *Worthies of England* tells us was 'solemnly returned' in 1433 'by select commissioners into the chancery.' Here at last we seem to have something definite and authentic. Our 'county historians' have never troubled themselves to search for the original of this document, but I have succeeded in tracing it to the Patent Roll of 12 Henry VI.<sup>2</sup> It turns out to be a catalogue made, not in 1433, but in the following year, of certain knights, esquires and men of influence and substance (*ceteros regni potentes et valentes*), to whom it was thought expedient to tender an oath that they would not 'wetyngly receyve, cherishe, hold in houshold ne maynteyne, Pilours, Robbours, Oppressours of the poeple, Mansleers, Felons, Outlawes, Ravyshers of women ayenst the

<sup>1</sup> Fuller speaks also of a list of the English gentry made towards the end of the reign of King Henry VIII.; and the later editors of his book tell us in a footnote that, if this could be found, it would be 'a valuable continuation of the *Worthies of England*.' I have no doubt the author is referring to the lists of those who lent money to the king in 1542-4, which are amongst the subsidy rolls in the Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> No. 437, dorso.

lawe, unlawfull Hunters of Forestes, Parkes or Warenes, or eny other open mysdoers.' These persons are generally thought to have been supporters of the Yorkist cause, and though the statute proposes that the oath shall be tendered to all men of substance in the various counties, the commissioners were instructed to call before them only those to whom it seemed expedient to offer it.<sup>1</sup> The statute speaks of them not as gentlemen, but as men of substance; and the Patent Roll classes them not as knights, esquires, gentlemen and yeomen, but as 'knights, esquires and *valetti*.' In the commission itself, as in the Petition against Livery of 1400-1,<sup>2</sup> *valettus* is translated as 'yoman'; 'yomen' in the translation (1387) of the *Polychronicon* follow next after esquires; and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that all persons of lower military rank than esquires, even if they were lords of manors and the representatives of ancient houses, might be so described. From the point of view of tenure they were free tenants, from the point of view of military service 'valets' or yeomen. In France young men of noble birth were spoken of as 'valets,' until they were eighteen years old;<sup>3</sup> in England the wards of the Crown were so named in the twelfth century, as were also, in the fourteenth, certain Members of Parliament, who we know were descended from knightly houses.<sup>4</sup> Moreover the same classification of society into knights, esquires and *valetti* will be found in the royal letters to the sheriffs of various counties in 1403;<sup>5</sup> in the statute of 1444-5, which ordains that in future *valetti* are not to serve as knights of the shire; and in the many Acts passed between 1389 and 1400 in restraint of livery, maintenance and apparel. This phrase, *chivaler, esquier, ne vallet*, qualified sometimes by the addition 'and all of lower estate than a knight,' or of 'nor none other of lower estate than an esquire,' represents the ordinary division of society in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

But if no reference can be found in early times to the existence of a class of gentlemen, how are we to explain the occurrence of the words *gentils* and *gentils-hommes* in the extracts which I have given from Froissart and the Parliamentary rolls and statutes. The difficulty is easily resolved, if it can be shown that *gentil-homme* does not mean a gentle-

<sup>1</sup> Patent Roll, 12 Henry VI. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* iii. 478; iv. 456.

<sup>3</sup> Du Cange.

<sup>4</sup> Langmead's *Constit. Hist.* i. 288, note.

<sup>5</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, viii. 313.



man. In 1399, the Earl of Salisbury, having been charged with treason by the Duke of Norfolk, replied that he was ready to defend himself *comme un gentil-homme*,<sup>1</sup> as the king might direct.<sup>2</sup> In 1387-8, John Beauchamp of Holt, condemned to be hanged as a traitor, by favour, because he was *de gentil sank*, was ordered to be beheaded.<sup>3</sup> This John, though described as *chivaler*, was a baron himself, being the first so created by patent, and the descendant of a baronial house. Again, in 1377, the Sire de Gomenys was found guilty of a like offence, and in his case once more the sentence was reduced to decapitation on the ground that he was *Gentil homme et Banneret*.<sup>4</sup> In Minot's *Songs of the French Wars*, written before 1352, the king himself is referred to as 'Gentill Sir Edward,'<sup>5</sup> while in charters of the same period it is not unusual to find the phrase *nobilis vir* applied to a simple knight.<sup>6</sup>

At the present day no one would speak of a knight as a nobleman, or of an earl or baron as a gentleman; but in early times there was no clear dividing line, no distinction in blood between the nobility and gentry. In legal documents, in charters, court rolls, and even in writs of summons to Parliament, barons are described simply as knights or *chivalers*. The statute of 1400-1 so considers them, for it speaks of a 'chivaler of lower estate than a Duke, Earl or Baron.' Higden, who wrote his *Polychronicon* before 1363, knew of no class intermediate between knights and dukes.<sup>7</sup> The parliamentary nobles were not at this time described as barons or *seigneurs*, for every lord of a manor was a *seigneur*, and every tenant-in-chief a baron;<sup>8</sup> but when it was necessary to distinguish them from the rest are referred to as *grands seigneurs*, *les grands de la terre*, *optimates*, *majores*, *magnates*, or *primates*. Thus *Magna Carta* speaks of *majores barones* (the minor barons being the smaller tenants-in-chief), and the Statute of Arms of Edward III.'s time refers to 'the son of a great lord,

<sup>1</sup> Freemen accused of sedition were usually tried by the ordeal of battle. Glanvill, *De Legibus*, liber 14, close of cap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* iii. 451a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 243b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 12a.

<sup>5</sup> Wright's *Political Poems*, i. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Vincent's MSS. at the College of Arms, xlv. 136b. *Addit. MS. (B.M.)* 29,442, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> ii. 171.

<sup>8</sup> See Scrope and Grosvenor, i. 113, where a lord of a manor is termed a baron.



that is to say, of an Earl or Baron.’<sup>1</sup> But even this distinction is not always maintained, for ‘others,’ namely some of the more influential bannerets and knights, were occasionally included, together with prelates, earls and barons, under the title of *les grants*.<sup>2</sup> Evidently the earls and barons differed from the *chivalers* in degree only, and not in kind. Privileged tenure or special summons to Parliament had made them more notable, but could not make them more noble than the rest.

This want of discrimination between what we should now call noblemen and gentlemen is reflected in the use of the words themselves, for in Edward III.’s time every nobleman was a *gentilhomme* and every *gentilhomme* a noble. If a distinction is ever drawn, as between two classes, we shall find that it is due to error or misunderstanding. In the English version of the Scrope and Grosvenor depositions, two of the deponents are made to speak of ‘nobles and valiant knights and esquires,’ and again of ‘nobles and valiant persons.’ In both cases the translation is at fault.<sup>3</sup> Another witness does actually refer to ‘noble lords, valiant knights and good esquires,’<sup>4</sup> and the phrase would have considerable weight did we not meet later on with a variant of it, in which the knights and esquires are noble and the lords are valiant.<sup>5</sup> Though Sir Richard Scrope’s ancestors were not of baronial rank, quite a number of witnesses deposed that he was sprung from *nobles et gentils hommes, dez aunciens gentils hommez & de noble sanc*; and one went so far as to say that his ancestors ‘had always remained *noblez & gentils*.’<sup>6</sup> Such phrases as *gentils & noblez*,<sup>7</sup> *gentils hommes chivalers & esquiers*,<sup>8</sup> *noble et generouse sanc dez gentils hommes*,<sup>9</sup> *noblez & gentilx generousez hommes*,<sup>10</sup> *noblez vailantz chivalers & esquiers*,<sup>11</sup> are frequently met with. In Chaucer and other writers of this period ‘gentil’<sup>12</sup> means neither more

<sup>1</sup> *Stat.* i. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer’s *Fœdera*, ii. 274; Scrope and Grosvenor, i. 181; Gneist’s *Hist. Eng. Constit.* 379 note.

<sup>3</sup> Scrope and Grosvenor, ii. 221, 245.      <sup>4</sup> i. 68.      <sup>5</sup> i. 70.      <sup>6</sup> i. 185.

<sup>7</sup> i. 156.      <sup>8</sup> i. 187.      <sup>9</sup> i. 164.      <sup>10</sup> i. 190.      <sup>11</sup> i. 185, 195.

<sup>12</sup> Derived from the secondary meaning of ‘gentil’ as graceful and well mannered is its use in the *Canterbury Tales* to denote all the better-bred persons in the company of pilgrims:—

‘And right anon the gentils ganne to crye

Nay lat hym telle us of no ribavdye’ (Pardoner’s Prologue, 37).

Here the word includes, I suppose, the knight, esquire, prioress, nun, monk, friar, merchant, clerk, man-of-law, franklin, and possibly the doctor and parson.

nor less than noble. Thus in Trevisa's translation (1387) of the *Polychronicon*, the *episcopi, abbates, et terræ proceres*, who accepted Canute as king, figure as the 'bisshoppes, abbotes and gentiles of the lond.' If any doubt still remains in the reader's mind as to the identity in meaning of *gentilis* and *nobilis*, I will refer him to the royal letter of 1363, which states that in former ages the people of England, *tam nobiles quam ignobiles*, had practised the art of archery;<sup>1</sup> to the letters of nobility granted by Henry VI. in 1448-9 to Nicholas Cloos and Roger Keys, who had been engaged in the works at King's College and Eton;<sup>2</sup> and to the passages in which Matthew Paris speaks of the 'archbishops, bishops, barons, knights and other nobles' who were summoned to the Parliament of 1225, and of the *infinita nobilium multitudo* which came together at Westminster on another occasion.<sup>3</sup> Can it be seriously maintained that here *nobiles* denotes only peers of the realm? If these instances do not carry conviction, we may turn to the lines in which Boethius and his translator speak of *nobilitas* as founded upon *claritudo*, that is to say upon 'renoun and cleernesse of linage.' How does the reader think that Chaucer translates *nobiles* and *nobilitas*? Not as nobles and nobility, but as 'gentilmen' and 'gentilesse.'<sup>4</sup> In other passages<sup>5</sup> the poet renders the latter word as 'noblesse,' for 'gentilesse' and 'noblesse' conveyed the same meaning to him.

The word 'gentleman' possessed then at this time precisely the same significance which to this day it conveys in France; and indeed how could it be otherwise, for England was still a great continental power, and English kings were making grants of arms and nobility to their foreign as well as to their native subjects. The explanation of *gentilis* as equivalent to *nobilis* is after all only what Selden, Camden, Du Cange and Spelman have long since laid down. I do not claim that it is a new discovery; the truth has always been plain enough, but our historians have been blind.

Chaucer uses 'gentilman' also to denote that class of servants whom we still refer to as 'gentlemen's gentlemen.'

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii. 704. See also the statute of 1336, which is made by the common consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons and other nobles of the Realm (Stat. i. 279).

<sup>2</sup> *Herald and Genealogist*, i. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols' *Leicester*, i. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Boethius iii. Prose vi. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. Prose iv. ; iii. Prose ii.

It should be possible, I think, to trace in the rolls, statutes and public records the exact process by which the word 'gentleman' was reduced to its present more limited significance. Just as African lakes in winter swell into inland seas, so many of the old class-names had a wider as well as a narrower meaning. The churchmen are sometimes included among the *nobiles*,<sup>1</sup> the free tenants among the *milites*,<sup>2</sup> the knights among the *libere tenentes*<sup>3</sup> and even among the *liberi homines*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was more usual for the 'knights and free tenants' to be separately mentioned, but even this classification groups together under one heading lords of manors, esquires, the sons or descendants of barons and knights, and humble freeholders who owned but a few acres of land. The inconvenience of this want of distinction must have been strongly felt, especially in the latter half of the fourteenth century, when a great deal of nonsense was being talked about 'gentle blood,'<sup>4</sup> and cumbrous phrases, such as *nul yoman ne null autere de meindre estat que Esquier* (1392-3 and 1397),<sup>5</sup> and *toutes manieres de gentils gents desoub l'estat de chivaler* (1363),<sup>6</sup> were invented to meet the difficulty. From these or from the hypothetical form, *seigneurs et autres gentils*, it is but a single step to describe untitled noblemen simply as *gentils*. But even as late as the year 1400, it was impossible to use 'gentleman' as a personal description expressing rank or quality, or as the title of a class. The Earl of Salisbury, as I have already pointed out, claimed in 1399 to be a gentleman. The statute of 1400-1 in restraint of livery still divides mankind into 'knights, esquires and *valetti*,' and this is the more remarkable because the word 'gentleman' occurs in the same paragraph only a few lines later. There is a proviso that the king's eldest son may give livery 'to the said lords and to his menial gentlemen (*meignalx gentilx*).' When we come to enquire who these menials could be we understand why the word *valetti* comes next after esquire in the classification of ranks. The prince's household was a copy in miniature of his father's, and the king had retained power to confer livery upon the lords temporal, whomsoever he pleased, and upon his 'menial knights and esquires.' The prince's menial gentlemen therefore included knights and

<sup>1</sup> Nichols' *Leicester*, i. 145, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Leg. Mal. Mab.* cap. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, i. 170, note.

<sup>4</sup> Wright's *Domestic Manners*, pp. 416-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Rot. Parl.* iii. 307, 345.

<sup>6</sup> *Stat.* i. 380.



esquires, and *gentil* could not be used to distinguish untitled gentlemen from knights and esquires. Even as late as 1421 we find 'Edward Lord Hastynges' complaining that he is penned in prison 'liker a thef or a traitour than lik a Gentilman of berthe.'<sup>1</sup>

It is seldom that we can trace the actual year in which a new word, or an old word in a new meaning, was added to the language, but this may undoubtedly be done with our 'grand old name of gentleman.'<sup>2</sup> As a description of rank and status, or a class-name, 'gentleman' is never found before 1413, and its sudden appearance must be attributed to the statute of 1 Henry V. cap. v., which laid down that in all original writs of action personal, appeals and indictments, in which process of outlawry lies, the 'estate degree or mystery' of the defendant must be stated, and the town, hamlet, place or country in which he then was or had formerly been. From this time we begin to meet in the public records with husbandmen, yeomen, and occasionally with a franklin or gentleman, but it was long before the new fashion of calling oneself a gentleman came into general use. In the Record Office there are twelve subsidy rolls for Kent, Sussex, and the Cinque Ports between 1414 and 1421, and in these, though many thousands of names are entered upon them, not a single person is so described. The list of landowners in 1428 printed in *Feudal Aids* contains no

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Young's *Grey and Hastings* (1841), xiv.

<sup>2</sup> The first instance I have met with of the use of *generosus* as a description of dignity or degree is in the previous year. On April 24, 1412, fifty-eight *generosi et fide digni* of Cheshire were present in the chapel of Macclesfield to witness the ceremony by which Robert Legh relinquished his claim to the castle of Pulford (*Harl. MS.* 2099, folio 18). It will be noticed however that five of the number were knights, and that the remainder have no addition after their names in the list of witnesses. I think that *generosi* here should be translated as 'gentlemen.' John of Fordun, who wrote his chronicle before 1384, divides the possessors and occupiers of the Crown lands in Scotland into three classes—first, the *milites, thani et principes*; secondly, the *liberi et generosi* (who had estates for a term of years or for life, with remainder in some cases to one or two heirs); and, thirdly, the *agricolæ* or yearly tenants (*Fordun*, iv. 43). Skene, observing that the tenants named in the second class were usually nearly related to the lords of the land, translates *liberi et generosi* as 'free and kindly tenants.' No doubt the author meant to suggest relationship, but I think he had not lost sight of the other meaning of *generosus* as expressing nobility of birth. Neckam, in the twelfth century, applies the word *generosus* to knights, and speaks of nobility of blood as *sanguinis generositas* (Neckam, *Chronicles and Memorials*, 212-3). In the Saxon vocabularies 'aethelboren' is given as the meaning both of '*generosus*' and of '*nobilis*.'



gentlemen, but a fair number figure in that drawn up in 1431. In Fuller's so-called 'List of Gentry in 1433,' which, as I have already shown, was not a list of gentry and was made in 1434, only forty-two persons in the twenty-eight counties referred to are returned as gentlemen; that is to say, fifteen in Derbyshire, two in Lincolnshire, twelve in Rutland, as many in Staffordshire, and one in Yorkshire. Amongst the wills in the York Registry, I noticed only one before 1430 and nine between 1430 and 1450,<sup>1</sup> in which the testator or the testator's husband is described as 'gentilman.'<sup>2</sup> Of the persons referred to six resided at York, for the custom seems to have been first introduced in the towns and to have made its way but slowly into the country districts. The register of York freemen, published by the Surtees Society, is particularly valuable for our purpose, for it commences in 1272 and gives the rank or profession of almost every person admitted to the freedom of the city. From 1394 onwards one or two esquires are usually found in the list. In 1416 we first meet with husbandmen and yeomen, and in 1417-8 with '*Willelmus Holtborp, gentilman.*' A second 'gentilman' is entered in 1426, and after 1433 there is hardly a year in which two or three do not occur. A few years later gentlemen have become so common that they are beginning to be recognized as a separate class of the community. In Peacock's 'Repressor,'<sup>3</sup> written in 1449, we find the phrase 'whether he be knyght, squyer, gentilman, yoman or lougher,' and in the statute of 1463,<sup>4</sup> 'no esquire, nor gentleman, nor none other under the degree of a knight.' But even in the latter half of the fifteenth century the order of gentlemen was

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Duffeld of York, Jan. 7, 1427-8.  
 John Tonge of York, Nov. 1430.  
 Agnes Kenlay of York, June 26, 1433.  
 John At Well of Beverley, Oct. 3, 1434.  
 John Stirtaunt of York, April 22, 1434.  
 Henry Meleton of York, Jan. 10, 1436.  
 John Kirkby of York, Nov. 2, 1436.  
 Joan Cotyngham of Howme, 1437.  
 John Tymworth of Acome, Oct. 22, 1438.  
 Thomas Water of Sywardby, April 20, 1449.

<sup>2</sup> There must be one or two others. Thomas Lyndley of Lyndley, who died in 1439, is described as 'gentilman' in his will and as *Armiger* in the margin of the Register, but neither description is appended to his name in the index published by the Yorkshire Archæological Society.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicles, etc.* ii. 371.      <sup>4</sup> II. 399.

not firmly established. The Cheshire Petition of 1450, and a poem upon England's Commercial Policy<sup>1</sup> written a few years after, revert to the older classification of 'knyghtis, squyers, and alle the comynalte.' Even as late as 1470 there are many royal commissions in which no one is described as a gentleman.<sup>2</sup> The practice of addressing an audience as 'gentlemen' will hardly, I think, be traced before the middle or end of the seventeenth century. King Henry V., speaking to his army before the battle of Agincourt, opened with the words, 'Syres and ffelowes.'

The first gentleman to whom a monument was erected was John Daundelyon of Margate, who died about 1445, the first who entered Parliament, 'William Weston, gentyلمان,' who was elected in January, 1446-7. Before that time the House of Commons was principally composed of valets. I have taken a good deal of trouble to find out who was the earliest gentleman of all, the 'firste fader of gentilesse,' as we may call him in the words of Chaucer's ballad; but the documents to which I am about to refer would require months rather than days for a careful and exhaustive examination, and I cannot pretend that my search has been complete. In the De Banco rolls, husbandmen, yeomen and franklins are first met with at Easter, 1414, and exactly a year later Henry Gate of Whityngton, co. Derby, 'Gentilman,' occurs. Before this time no addition except 'knight' and 'esquire' is to be found, and persons of good position are set down without any description of rank after their names, the title *armiger* being added in some cases by the clerk if he found later on that the party in question was an esquire. In the Patent and Close Rolls for 2 & 3 Henry V. a partial search failed to discover a gentleman. The first gentleman we meet with in the early chancery proceedings are William Yevenet of Birchholt in Kent, and John and William de Killom of Killom in Nottinghamshire, all in 1416-7.<sup>3</sup> Agnes Killom, who was a party to the same suit, is probably the first lady ever described as a 'gentlewoman.' From the Coroners' Rolls I obtained no result, but was more fortunate with the Staffordshire Indictments, attributed to the year 1413-4. The cases which arose out of these presentments by the Hundred Courts are said to have been tried

<sup>1</sup> *Wright*, ii. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Spelman's Glossary*, under 'Generosus.'

<sup>3</sup> Bundle 4, No. 47; 5, No. 40; 6, No. 142.

before the king in person in May or June, 1414,<sup>1</sup> but the presentments themselves are undated, and as several included in the same bundle refer to acts committed in 1414-5, I hesitate to accept the date suggested. It is one of those cases where local knowledge is required, and if the learned editor has used his to good purpose the premier gentleman of England, as the matter now stands, is 'Robert Erdeswyke of Stafford, gentilman.'<sup>2</sup> Fortunately—for the gentle reader will no doubt be anxious to follow in his footsteps—some particulars of his life may be gleaned from the public records. He was charged at the Staffordshire Assizes with house-breaking, wounding with intent to kill, and procuring the murder of one Thomas Page, who was cut to pieces while on his knees begging for his life. 'Robert Erdeswyke of Sondon, gentilman,' who I suppose was a near relation, was indicted at the same time for a number of similar offences, including attempted murder and the torture, in a manner too revolting to be described, of a young man named John Bykley, in order to compel the latter to disclose the place in which his brother was concealed.

If any earlier claimant to the 'grand old name of gentleman' be discovered, I venture to predict that it will be within the same year and in connection with some disreputable proceeding—assault, murder, robbery, or housebreaking—of a kind which would not now be accepted as an introduction to polite society. It was a way the earliest gentlemen had, as far as my experience of them goes, and I only mention it because it shows who these earliest gentlemen were. This is just the moment when the problem of the younger son was first making itself disagreeably prominent. In the thirteenth century, when every landlord, great and small, was an agriculturist, younger sons at the death of their father had a share of his farming stock, which was often worth three times the fee simple of the land. They were thus never left entirely unprovided for. In those earlier days, as Ferne tells us,<sup>3</sup> one would be 'bestowed in a college, another in the church, another to the fiede, another to the kinge's house,' while the law and the collegiate churches and chapters furnished a worthy maintenance for many. But undoubtedly, in the greater number of

<sup>1</sup> *Will. Salt. Archæ. Soc.* xvii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Erdeswyke served among the 'lances,' or men-at-arms, in the retinue of Lord Talbot at Agincourt (Nicolas, *Agincourt*, p. 345).

<sup>3</sup> *Blazon of Gentrie* (1586), p. 93.



instances, a younger son took his share of the stock, bought or hired land from his elder brother, and settled down quietly to an agricultural life in his native village.<sup>1</sup> The Great Plague of 1349 put an end to this state of things. Owing to the increased cost of labour landlord cultivation became impossible, and the 'stock and land lease' was introduced, which always ran the same course and ended in the landlord being left with the experience, the tenant with the stock. The later practice of leasing to a capitalist farmer, and the invention of trusts and uses, turned the younger son into a pauper, and he became a soldier of fortune, not a bad profession while the French wars lasted. From France he returned, when peace was concluded, to stir up strife at home, to idle about his brother's hall, or to be a hanger-on at the castle of some great peer, where he learnt to prosecute with zeal and acrimony the feuds and quarrels in which his patron was involved. Such men were placed in an invidious position by the statute of 1413, which compelled them for the first time to declare their profession, dignity or degree. It was an insult to suggest that they were franklins or husbandmen or yeomen; they were not earls or barons, or even like their elder brothers, knights or esquires, but they too were of noble blood; they too were 'gentlemen of auncestrey,' and as 'gentlemen' they chose to be described.

In the fifteenth century it was considered to be bad manners to argue about a man's position, and I suspect that the young man Page, with whose unhappy end the reader is already acquainted, may have offended against this rule of etiquette. If Robert Erdeswyke had asked to be put down as a duke, no sensible clerk or collector or man of law would have said him nay.

## II

### ARMS AND THE GENTLEMAN

Our enquiry, so far, has dealt only with medieval classes. We have seen that the title of *gentilhomme*, or gentleman, was applicable to earls and barons as well as to commoners of good birth, and that the change of meaning which restricted it to the latter did not begin until the fifteenth century had opened. I propose to deal now with the more interesting and delicate

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, *Six Centuries*, pp. 52, 293; *Economic Interpretation of Hist.* p. 264.



questions—what, having regard to the derivation and historical meaning of the word, a gentleman really is, and who amongst us are gentlemen and who are not. Out of the multitude of definitions, which may we accept as true? Are we to conclude with Chaucer that ‘gentillesse’ is ‘annexed to possessioun’ and ‘descended out of old richesse’; with Sir Thomas Smith that any one is a gentleman who can live idly and without manual labour; or with Shakespeare and the heralds that a ‘household coat’ is the only patent of gentility? Can a breath unmake gentlemen as a breath has made, or is the grand old name founded upon something better and more honourable than wealth and idleness, parchment and ink, the favour of Princes or the patronage of kings of arms? To many people such an enquiry will appear to be of some picturesque interest, but of little or no practical utility. I am not of that opinion. I believe that a real understanding of the word ‘gentleman’ will clear the air of a great deal of vulgar pretentiousness, and will tend to promote a better and more friendly feeling between all classes in the community. I know that at one period of our history infinite harm was done by the doctrine of ‘gentill berthe,’ and am altogether out of sympathy with those who wish to see that doctrine revived.

In the sixteenth century, the title of gentleman was allowed by courtesy to masters in universities, doctors in the church, governors of cities, and students of the common law; but was held not to appertain of right to any, unless they were men of coat-armour or had been addressed as gentlemen in royal letters.<sup>1</sup> This theory—that the Crown is the sole fountain of honour, and that nothing can make a man a gentleman except a grant of arms to himself or to an ancestor—is still maintained by the officers of arms, and has been stated again by a modern writer<sup>2</sup> with so much earnestness and appearance of knowledge, that it is finding its way into our literature and even into our dictionaries. The *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* gives as the primary meaning of gentleman, ‘a man of gentle birth, or having the same heraldic status as those of gentle birth; properly, one who is entitled to bear arms.’<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ferne’s *Blazon of Gentry* (1586), p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> ‘X,’ *The Right to Bear Arms*.

<sup>3</sup> The older dictionaries explain ‘gentleman’ as indicating ‘a man of good family.’

Now this is altogether a mistake. Heraldic bearings were originally invented for the purpose of distinguishing one warrior from another in campaign or tournament, but in the early days of chivalry no one placed such ensigns upon his shield until he had first proved himself worthy of being 'known by arms.' When a knight or esquire retired from service, he hung up his hauberk, helm, and shield, as a trophy in his ancestral hall, and it is to that custom, rather than to the continued use of the same weapons, that the hereditary nature of armorial coats and crests must be attributed. We know that the weapons of a famous ancestor sometimes remained as heirlooms in his family for many hundreds of years. It would thus appear that arms are, rightly considered, not an 'assertion of gentle birth,' but rather a memorial of achievement, that is to say, of service rendered in war, or of public office held in time of peace.<sup>1</sup> A man may be ennobled by his own virtues, or (conceivably) by a desire to emulate those of his ancestors; but a coat which commemorates nothing, and has no historical associations attached to it, cannot justify him in thinking himself better born than his neighbours, and indeed is rather a disgrace than an honour to the bearer. Even in the days of Elizabeth the connection between heraldry and public service was not wholly forgotten, for Ferne lays down in his *Blazon of Gentry* that the bearing of office merits coat armour, and that a herald may not refuse a grant of arms to any one so distinguished, even if the position he holds be no higher than that of mayor, provost or bailiff of a corporate town. Arms cannot therefore be a proof of gentle birth, and we have abundant evidence that while heraldry was still a living art, they were not so considered. Many individuals, who were certainly not armigerous, are described as 'gentlemen' in the public records between 1414 and 1450. The class of franklins at that time included many men who would now be spoken of as yeomen or labourers, yet not a few landowners who had inherited armorial ensigns from a long line of ancestors returned themselves as 'franklins' to the poll-tax of 1379. I can point to one franklin who used an heraldic seal and bequeathed in his Will a piece of silver pictured with his arms. And if there were franklins who bore coat-armour, so there were many representatives of ancient houses, many esquires and even some

<sup>1</sup> The statements contained in this paragraph are open to question, but I am prepared to defend them, if they are challenged.

knights who did not. Camden quotes a grant made in 1391 to Sir William Moigne, who was a *chivaler*, but innocent of heraldic achievements. In 1407, there was a trial in the Court of Chivalry between Lord Grey of Ruthyn and Sir Edward Hastings,<sup>1</sup> and on both sides witnesses were sworn who were noble or gentle by descent, but did not claim to be armigerous. Amongst these Roger Tunstale, Mayor of Bedford, John Boteler, Esquire, of the same county, John Lee, Esquire, of Buckinghamshire, William Parker and Thomas Lound, of Bedfordshire, were all gentlemen of ancestry.<sup>2</sup> Another deponent, descended *e stirpe nobili*, explained that no such ensigns had come to him, because neither he nor his ancestors had ever gone to the wars.<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Spelman, whose *Aspilogia* was written about the year 1595, observes that, until the age of Henry VI., many not ignoble families in our own country were without coat-armour, and that in Ireland, which was the image of England in earlier days, some great houses were still, as he puts it, *asymboli*.<sup>4</sup> At the heralds' visitations in the sixteenth century the Mildmays of Essex, descended from a knightly race which could be traced<sup>5</sup> back to the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, the St. Pauls of Campsall in Yorkshire, and the Flemings of Wakefield, with pedigrees ranging back to the reign of Edward III., could offer no proof of arms. Their families, at least for some generations, had not found it necessary to use them.

Turning to the early grants of arms, we shall find further proof that gentility and heraldry were not necessarily connected with each other. The letters of nobility which were openly sold by the French monarchs, as early as 1340, to any who were willing to pay the stipulated price, did not usually contain amongst their provisions an assignment of heraldic bearings. Some of the recipients already possessed arms, some chose them for themselves, and others did not trouble to bear them at all.<sup>6</sup> The earliest English grants<sup>7</sup> are in their essence letters

<sup>1</sup> Young mentions a MS. in the possession of Henry le Strange of Hunstanton, which contains further particulars of the evidence and interrogatories. It is very desirable that this should be published.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. Young, *Grey and Hastings* (1841), p. 29; Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 875. <sup>3</sup> Bysshe, *Spelman* (1654), p. 40. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> By the heralds. I take no responsibility.

<sup>6</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera* (new ed.), iii. pt. 1, p. 550; Bysshe's *Upton* (1654), p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, see the index to the syllabus, under 'Arms.'



of ennoblement, and a distinction is always drawn in them between the principal object, which, following the French form, is usually *nobilitare nobilemque facere*, and the addition of arms *in signo hujus nobilitatis*. Thus in 1389 the king receives John de Kyngeston, who has accepted the challenge of a French knight, *en l'estat de Gentile Homme*, and desires that he shall be known by arms, which accordingly are assigned to him. In the grant of 1439 and the two grants of 1445 we have the same phrase, *nobilitamus nobilesque facimus et creamus*, and the coats are bestowed *in signum hujusmodi nobilitatis*. These are grants to foreign subjects, but the wording is precisely the same in the letters of nobility and arms which Henry VI., in 1448-9, granted to two Englishmen, Nicholas Cloos and Roger Keys, who seem to have acted as clerks of the works at King's College and Eton.<sup>1</sup> In two later instruments by King James, made in 1610 and 1614, the fact that arms are not a necessary accompaniment of nobility is still more strongly pressed upon our notice, for the sentence *insignia gentilitia nobili familie illius adjunximus* is an acknowledgment by the Crown that a man may be noble and the descendant of a noble house, though his ancestors were not distinguished by coat armour. Another proof of this is the charter made by Humphrey Earl of Stafford in 1442, which speaks of the recipient as *noble homme Robert Whitgreve*, and declares its object by the words *augmenter en bonneur et noblesse*. But indeed the point is one which hardly requires demonstration, for the heralds, who were never authorized by the Crown to make a gentleman, in their latest as well as in their earliest grants, assume that the applicant is a gentleman already.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Fox Davies in his *Armorial Families*, takes up the same ground as 'X,' and in order to prove that arms and gentility cannot exist except by concession from the Crown, refers the reader to a statement of Fuller, namely that 'in the reign of Henry V. (1417) a Royal Proclamation was made that no man in future be allowed to bear Arms without authority.' I must beg leave to point out that the proclamation lays down no such rule. Even the incomplete and incorrect copy of it,

<sup>1</sup> *Herald and Genealogist*, i. 135.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the heralds were making grants of arms in the fourteenth century seems to have escaped notice (Bysshe, *Johannes de Bado Aureo*, 1654, pp. 27, 44), owing to the fact that none of these grants have been preserved. It was generally thought that arms so granted were of no authority.



which will be found in the *Worthies of England*, should have been enough to convince Mr. Fox Davies that it will not bear such an interpretation. The original order will be found on the back of the Close Roll, 5 Henry V., membrane 15. It is made in view of a particular event, namely the expedition which was then being prepared. It is not general, but applies only to four counties, that is to say Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex and Dorset. The penalties laid down are exclusion from the voyage, loss of wages, and the 'rasure and rupture' of the 'Coat Armour' in question. There is a curious exception—*exceptis illis qui nobiscum apud bellum de Agencourt arma portabant*—which seems to be a license to all who took part in that battle, not only to continue the use of arms borne without authority, but even to devise new coats for themselves. The proclamation admits that in former expeditions many persons had assumed armorial bearings at their pleasure, and had displayed them openly without interference on the part of the royal officers, and that old usage, or the grant from some person (not necessarily a herald<sup>1</sup>) having power to make such a grant, gave a sufficient title. The Crown evidently began in the fifteenth century to regulate more strictly the display of arms at musters and arrays; but there was as yet no claim to govern the use of them in private houses, in churches, or on seals. It is a matter of common knowledge among antiquaries that at this period armorial seals were used by many husbandmen or yeomen, and in some cases by persons who did not even pretend to have a right to the achievements represented upon them.

I believe that such a claim was never heard of before the reign of Henry VIII. In the age when heraldry was first introduced, 'men took what arms they pleased, directed by their own fancy.'<sup>2</sup> The Assize of Arms in 1181 directed that every free layman having sixteen marks in rent or chattels should provide himself with a hauberk, a helm, a lance and a shield; and if he chose to decorate the latter with an escarbuncle or a fleur-de-lis, with bends or chevrons or crosses, no law or custom stood in his way. In the thirteenth century, as Camden and Spelman frankly acknowledge, knights and

<sup>1</sup> Upton, and the author of the treatise upon heraldry contained in the *Book of St. Albans*, assert that arms may lawfully be granted by a 'Prince or other lord.'

<sup>2</sup> Gwillim.

lords of manors invented arms for themselves, and gave or allowed them to the free tenants who fought under their banners. As time went on, long usage was held to confer a proprietary right; a coat of arms became by law an estate of inheritance; assignments or alienations of arms by subjects were acknowledged in the Chancery; and the Court of Chivalry gave redress to those whose family bearings had been usurped by others. Yet even as late as the fifteenth century the Crown was not the sole fount of honour. Some of the greater nobles still maintained their own heralds and bestowed arms upon their feudal followers. Camden gives the text of a grant by Humphrey Earl of Stafford, dated August 13, 1442, and in the previous reign John Edom, esquire, of Hertfordshire, had an escutcheon of arms conferred upon him 'in the presence of the Earl of Pembroke,' who was probably the donor.<sup>1</sup> Other persons, as the proclamation of 1413 clearly shows, did not feel the need of any authority, but in accordance with the older custom 'took what arms they pleased.' Ferne, in his *Blazon of Gentry*,<sup>2</sup> speaks of a calendar of one of the Inns of Court in 1422, which gave in the margin the arms of all the members. He offers this as proof of his statement that none but 'gentlemen of blood' were then admitted; but of course it is only another indication of what we had already reason to suspect, namely that lawyers at that period considered that every man had a legal right to devise arms for himself.

Heraldic custom in other countries seems to have been very much the same as in England. It appears by the Act of 1430 that in Scotland every freeholder was expected to possess a 'sele of his armys.'<sup>3</sup> In the fourteenth century the free peasantry of Switzerland furnished some of the best fighting men in the world, and these little landowners, when they contracted to serve as men-at-arms in Italy or France, usually placed some armorial bearing upon their shields. In Germany the mayor of every little city such as Rothenburg, invented a coat of arms for himself, and had it painted upon the walls of the Rathhaus. In Holland, in Castile, and amongst the Basques, every one seems to have adopted arms by his own authority and at his own pleasure. French and German books upon heraldry published in the sixteenth century complain of the

<sup>1</sup> Young's *Grey and Hastings* (1841), p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> (1586), 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts Parl. Scot.* ii. 19.

multitude of such assumptions, treat them as ridiculous, but do not dare to condemn them as unlawful.<sup>1</sup>

Up to this point, I have been merely playing with the arguments of 'X,' but I will now bring down the fanciful edifice he has erected in ruins about his ears. I have shown that unbroken custom justified the assumption of arms without authority, but I have not dealt with law. How did the great lawyers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries regard such assumptions, and more important still for our purpose, how did the earliest writers upon heraldry regard them? These questions, which go to the root of the whole matter, have never yet been put or answered. It is another instance of our English want of thoroughness that, though books by the dozen have been written about the history, the antiquities and the curiosities of heraldry, no one has yet read the earliest authors who deal with that subject, or has even taken the trouble to find out who they are. I have therefore the greater pleasure in furnishing 'X' with some fresh information which has an important bearing upon the subject of his book. The lawyers and heralds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with one accord, Englishmen and foreigners alike, declare that every man is justified in devising a coat of arms for himself. The first writer upon heraldry, Bartolo di Sasso Ferrato, whose treatise 'On Ensigns and Arms' was composed in 1356,<sup>2</sup> states that any one may assume arms, and may lawfully bear

<sup>1</sup> Feschius ; Sicily Herald (B. M. Grenville, 746).

<sup>2</sup> It was issued in the January following upon his death, which took place in 1356 or 1359. See the edition of Feschius. Bartholus de Sasso Ferrato acknowledges no obligation to any earlier author, and is himself the great authority of later writers, such as John of Guildford and Upton. His *De Insigniis et Armis* had a wide popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in style and elegance was supposed to be not unworthy of Cicero. This may be gathered from the amusing but vituperative pamphlet issued in about 1431 by the purist Laurence Valla, who, by the way, admits that both the matter and the title of the work he is criticising were new. Valla had been moved to wrath by the utterance of some indiscreet friend, who happened to observe that none of the works of M. Tullius could be compared with this little treatise of Bartholus, and he spent the whole night in composing a violent diatribe, in which he compares Bartholus and his contemporaries to asses and geese. None of his remarks however are quite so cruel as that of John of Guildford, who falls foul of the coat which Bartholus had received from the Emperor, on the ground that it broke the rules of art which the author himself had laid down, *quia contra naturam est, ut unum animal haberet duas caudas.*



them and exhibit them upon his belongings.<sup>1</sup> This author was the most celebrated Jurist of his time, and gives references to the various statutes and leading cases upon which his opinion is based. Arms, he informs us, were invented, like surnames, for the purpose of distinguishing one individual from another, and as a man may take upon himself a surname, so also he may take arms at his pleasure. See *l. ad cognoscendum C. de ingenuis manumissis*. By use such arms become the bearer's property, and another may not adopt them if the first be injured thereby. In illustration of this point he tells an interesting story, which it will be better to give in his own words. 'For example, a certain German in time of indulgence (no doubt the jubilee year, 1300) went to Rome, where he found some Italian bearing the arms and ensigns of his ancestors, and he wishes to make plaint of this. Truly, he was not able, for such is the distance between either place or domicile, that for this reason the first could not suffer hurt.' Priority of use, according to our author, furnished the only good title to a coat of arms, but in case of dispute, if this could not be clearly demonstrated by either party, he who could show a grant from the prince of the country was to be preferred. Bartholus had himself received a grant from the Emperor Charles IV., to whom he was a councillor, and the view he expresses must have been that held at the Imperial Court, as well as in Italy, where he was born. The earliest English writer upon these subjects, John of Guildford, whose little book was commenced before 1394 at the instance of Anne, the queen of Richard II., limits the power of assumption in the same way, asserting that no one can take the arms of another person resident within the same kingdom.<sup>2</sup> His master in the art of heraldry, Francis de Foveis, or Foea, in a 'Treatise concerning Arms' had expressed the same opinion. Another Englishman, Nicholas Upton, who issued his *De Militari Officio* before 1446, deals more carefully with the 'oft mooted question' whether arms given by princes are 'of greater or less dignity than arms assumed on a man's own authority.' His remarks like those of Bartholus and John of

<sup>1</sup> Quilibet potest sibi assumere arma, et insignia illa portare, et in rebus suis impingere. Bysshe, *Notes on Upton* (1654), pp. 4, 6-8. Later commentators considered this statement to be too wide, and that villeins or rustics should have been excluded from it.

<sup>2</sup> Bysshe, *Johannes de Bado Aureo* (1654), p. 44.



Guildford have escaped notice, and they are so much to the point that I cannot resist the temptation to quote them in full :<sup>1</sup>—

In the fourth place we have those Arms which we bear assumed upon our own authority, as in these days we openly see how many poor men, labouring in the French wars, are become noble ; one by prudence, another by valour, a third by endurance, a fourth by other virtues which, as we have already said, ennoble mankind ; of whom many of their own authority have assumed Arms to be borne by themselves and their heirs, whose names it is not necessary here to recall. I say, however, that Arms so assumed, though they are borne freely and lawfully, yet cannot be of such dignity or authority as those which are daily bestowed by the authority of Princes or lords. Yet Arms taken by a man's own authority, if another have not borne them before, are valid enough. . . . Nor dare I approve of the opinion of certain men who say that Heralds can give Arms ; but I say, if such Arms are borne by any Herald given, that these Arms are not of greater authority than those which are taken by a man's own authority.

Upton's book is dedicated to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and gives us therefore the opinions upon this point generally entertained at the Court of Henry VI. In referring to the 'many poor men' who assumed arms on their own authority in the French wars, he is speaking of what he had actually seen, for he served in France for some years and was present at the siege of Orleans in 1428.<sup>2</sup> The unfortunate 'X' tells us in his book that he 'takes his stand' upon the proclamation of 1417, and that since that time 'the sole power and authority concerning arms has remained with, and has been asserted by, the Crown.' But here we have the evidence of an eye-witness proving that ten years after the date of that proclamation unauthorized arms were still displayed without question in the English armies which fought at Verneuil or Orleans.

The four authors whom I have quoted—Upton, John of Guildford, Francis de Foveis, and Bartolus—are agreed that any man may lawfully devise a coat for himself, and it would be difficult to find a single writer of the fourteenth or fifteenth century who expresses a different view. 'Sicily Herald,' who wrote his *Blason des Couleurs* about or before 1450, does indeed speak of the arms of persons of low estate and not noble, who 'without discretion take or make shields and

<sup>1</sup> Bysshe, *Upton* (1654), pp. 58, 257.

<sup>2</sup> His book is supposed to have been written while he was serving in France. He may have entered the army in 1421 or 1422.

arms at their pleasure'<sup>1</sup>; but he calls such escutcheons 'false,' only in the sense that they exhibited metal charged upon metal and colour upon colour, and not because it was unlawful to bear them. In Harleian MS. 6064, there are some rules of armory compiled by an anonymous writer of the fifteenth century. He again lays down that arms may be assumed on a man's mere motion, and quotes an earlier author whom I am unable to identify—*ut probat Fretolphus in tractatu suo de armis*. Our first printed treatise upon heraldry, contained in the *Book of St. Albans* and published in 1486, takes up precisely the same ground. The author speaks of arms granted by a prince or lord, but declares that 'armys bi a mannys propur auctorite take, if an other man have not borne theym afore, be of strength enogh.' 'It is the opynyon,' he goes on to say, 'of moni men that an herrod of armis may gyve armys. Bot I say if any sych armys be borne by any herrod gyven, that thoos armys be of no more auctorite then thoos armys the wich be take by a mannys awne auctorite.'

Such were the rules of heraldry at the time the College of Arms was founded, and such is the law of England at the present hour. Any subject may lawfully assume arms of his own mere motion, and any one who has done service worthy to be remembered—any officer who has fought for his country, or any citizen who has served as mayor of his native town—is justified in making use of his legal right. In saying this, it will not I hope be supposed that I am actuated by any feeling of hostility to the College of Arms, an institution for which I personally have much respect. The College has a great historic position, has done good work in the past, and if Parliament would treat it with less negligence and meanness, may do good work again. With the efforts of the heralds to check the illegal usurpation of coats belonging to other families, I am in entire sympathy, and I have seen so much of the evils and inconvenience which result from the practice, that I must join with 'X' in advising those guilty of it to go to the College, and find out what their position is. I know an old hall in Yorkshire, of which the owner in Charles II.'s time 'annexed' somebody else's coat of arms. These arms were placed upon the tapestry in the parlour, upon the plate, the china, the monuments and hatchments in the parish church. Within the last ten years the present representative of that

<sup>1</sup> B. M. Grenville, 746.

family has been obliged to accept a new grant from the heralds, and thus to falsify the whole history of the house.

But such considerations must not divert me from the object of my enquiry. My answer to 'X' is that the letters patent of Henry VIII., instructing the heralds to deface false and unauthorized arms, were an unlawful encroachment upon the rights of his subjects. England is not an absolute monarchy. The Crown, it is true, has always had control over musters and arrays, and could therefore govern the use of armorial ensigns there displayed, but without Act of Parliament that power could not be extended so as to affect the rights of private citizens. The very fact that an Act was obtained in Scotland is an acknowledgment that such authority is not vested in the Crown. The early writers upon heraldry were without exception of the opinion that any man may lawfully bear arms chosen by himself. That opinion is supported by the unbroken custom of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The royal proclamation of 1417 admits unreservedly that long usage gives a good title to arms assumed without authority, and after the date of that proclamation many persons so assumed arms and exhibited them openly before the royal officers under whom they were serving in France. Both the Crown and the College have, over and over again, allowed the title of 'gentleman' to persons who did not even pretend to be armigerous, and have described as noble or gentle the families from which they sprang. Gentility does not depend upon the possession of a coat of arms.

### III

#### WHAT IS A GENTLEMAN ?

Side by side with this absurd theory that arms make the gentleman, we find in the writings of 'X' another which strangely contradicts it, namely that in the Middle Ages the 'landowner was the nobleman or gentleman, and the smallest tenant of land held by military service participated in the privileges of nobility.'<sup>1</sup> This suggestion has even now its supporters in the College of Arms, and it may be traced back to a respectable antiquity. The great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, lays down in his *Institutes*<sup>2</sup> that 'of ancient times those

<sup>1</sup> *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> (1642), ii. 595.



that held by knight's service [that is to say military service, or tenure *in feodo*] were regularly Gentile,' and again that it was 'a badge of Gentry to hold by knight's service.' Spelman and Sir Henry Chauncy<sup>1</sup> adopt the same view, and it is upheld also by Nichols<sup>2</sup> and by Strutt. *Gentlemen*, writes the latter, 'a title borrowed from the French to distinguish the free men from the vulgar and common people. They (the gentlemen) held of the mesne lords small parcels of land by military service.'<sup>3</sup> This is a theory which deserves respectful consideration, for we know that in France 'every possessor of a fief was a gentleman, though he owned but a few acres of land and furnished his slender contribution towards the equipment of a knight.'<sup>4</sup> The *simple gentilhomme*, mentioned in Philip de Valois' ordinance of 1338, who was to be '*arme de tunique, de gambiere, et de bassinet*,' must often have been a very poor gentleman indeed.<sup>5</sup>

On the continent, military fief or *franc fief*, so called because it was *free* from tribute, tallage and all rustic services, suggested from the earliest times some idea of nobility. We meet in early charters with such phrases as *feudum nobile et gentile* (1242), *feudum francum et honoratum* (1189 and 1274), *feudum liberum et honoratum* (1242), *feudum francum et gentile* (1274), *feudum nobile* (1293), *feudum gentile* (1370), or *fief gentil* (1309).<sup>6</sup> *Feudum nobile* has been supposed by some foreign writers to denote estates which are held in chief and carry with them jurisdiction over tenants, such as 'those which among the English are commonly called manors';<sup>7</sup> and undoubtedly some forms of tenure, as for instance, by castle-guard or grand sergeanty, were more honourable than the rest. But Spelman is undoubtedly right in comprising all franc fief under the title of *feudum nobile*.<sup>8</sup> The phrases which I have just quoted made no alteration in the tenure, but were merely verbal additions which expressed its inherent nobility. Some form of socage holding may also have been included in franc tenure on the continent as well as in England,<sup>9</sup> for we have a charter of

<sup>1</sup> *Hertfordshire* (1700), pp. 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Manners and Customs*, iii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Hewitt, *Ancient Arms*, ii. 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* *Feudum nobile*.

<sup>8</sup> See Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France* (1607), p. 213.

<sup>9</sup> In England, free socage lands were included in *frank tenure*. Du Cange divides *socagium* into two kinds, '*liberum, quod* "Socage en Franc tenure" *Angli*

<sup>2</sup> *Leicestershire*, i. 170 note, 213.

<sup>4</sup> Hallam (1837), iii. 204.

<sup>6</sup> Du Cange under '*feudum*'.



1292 to the inhabitants of the town of 'Montisfalc,' permitting them to hold *feudum nobile, excepto feudo militari*. Another charter of 1245, quoted by Du Cange, speaks of two kinds of lands, that is to say, *gentilis et servilis terra*,<sup>1</sup> an exact precedent for the *fief noble* and *fief roturier* of later times. In England also, as Spelman and Nichols<sup>2</sup> have laid down, all franc fief was equally honourable and had the same privileges attached to it, whether held by archbishops, earls, barons, knights, or free-tenants, and it was for this reason, and not because of any superiority of birth, that ecclesiastical persons are sometimes classed among the *nobiles*. These things were not done without system, for bishops and abbots are never placed amongst the *milites*, except when holding lay fiefs. In England also the same broad distinction may be traced between free land and bondage land. A villein or burgess in France was incapable of inheriting or acquiring lands held *in feodo*; in the English possessions on the continent, franc fief could not be sold or alienated without the licence of the English king,<sup>3</sup> and in our own country it was held that no one born in a villein nest could inherit such land, and that, if he bought it, his lord might at any moment enter upon it and possess it.

It would thus appear that frank tenure was originally not a cause, but, in the words of Coke, a 'badge' of gentility. Lands so held were free and honourable, because the persons to whom they had been granted were members of a military and privileged caste. On the continent nobility was connected with the profession of arms, and the fact that a man had no weapons in his house, and no horses in his stable, was in the fourteenth century held to be *prima facie* proof that he could not be noble.<sup>4</sup> Another indication of the original nobility of all tenants *in feodo* is that all were eligible for knighthood. In Germany, France, Aragon, Sicily, and, as I suppose, in Europe generally, none but villeins and burgesses were by birth incap-

*vocant*,' and 'Villanum.' The statute of uncertain date for respiting of knighthood directs that as regards those persons who held land in socage, owing no foreign service, the rolls of the chancery should be searched, and 'it shall be done as it used to be done.' It is probable that even after this statute was passed, all who held land in socage to the value of £20 a year were liable to be compelled to take up knighthood.

<sup>1</sup> Du Cange, under 'Gentilis.'

<sup>2</sup> *Leicester*, i. 170 note, 214.

<sup>3</sup> Du Cange, 'Feudum Francum.'

<sup>4</sup> See the instance of this given by Du Cange (*Nobilitatio*).

able of receiving that honour.<sup>1</sup> A constitution of the Emperor Frederick II., which is also attributed to Conrad IV., directs that no one is to be dubbed a knight unless descended from a family of *militēs*.<sup>2</sup> Selden makes a gallant attempt to show that here *miles* denotes a gentleman, but has to admit that it includes also 'the great Free-holders of the Countree,' and undoubtedly the word in Germany, as in England and Scotland, is used of all free-tenants *in feodo*, small as well as great.<sup>3</sup> In Scotland every free-holder was the peer of a knight.<sup>4</sup> In England also, there was the same theoretic equality between all tenants in chivalry. Every one was on the same footing as regards disparagement in marriage, the duel, the ordeal, and trial by his peers. Every one, if his income were sufficient, might be compelled to take up knighthood. Every one who was not a knight, or esquire, was a 'free-tenant' or a 'valet.'<sup>5</sup>

I think I have furnished evidence strong enough to prove that, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there was only a distinction of rank and not a difference of class between barons, knights and free-tenants, and that the terms *nobilis* and *gentilis* were, at least in theory, applicable to all who held their lands in franc tenure. I may now advance a step further, and leaving tenure altogether out of account, point out that in early times there was some strange connection between freedom and gentility. In France, *francus*, which is said to be derived from *fry*, or free, and *anck* a young man,<sup>6</sup> conveyed from the eighth century the idea not only of freedom but of nobility. Thus in 1151 we met with the sentence *supervenit Francus vere re et nomine nobilis*.<sup>7</sup> We have already noticed that the phrases *francum et honoratum* and *francum et gentile* were applicable to franc fief, and the same words, 'franc et gentil' are often linked together in the old French romances. In the Roman de Garin, we have the line—

Garin mes peres fu Frans hom et gentis ;

<sup>1</sup> Du Cange, under 'Miles' ; Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 549.

<sup>2</sup> Selden, p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> Skene, *De Verb Sign*, under 'Miles' ; Skene's *Scotland*, iii. 242 note.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts Scot.* i. 318, 400, 403 ; Skene's *Scotland*, iii. 241.

<sup>5</sup> *Fædera*, viii. 313 ; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 240 ; Langmead's *Constit. Hist.* (1896), p. 288. In the fourteenth century a knight in England could claim to be tried by a jury of knights, but I do not believe that this was so in earlier times. A freeholder was certainly the peer of the lord of a manor. See the *Year-book* of 30-1 Edward I. p. 531.

<sup>6</sup> Du Cange, under 'Franci.'

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

in another early romance—

L'Enfant de Champagne avoec,  
Et maint franc baceler illuec,  
Feist cevalier avec son fil,  
Qui furent franc ome et Gentil.

And again—

Par le pere sont serf li fil  
Qui or fussent franc et Gentil.<sup>1</sup>

In Germany also the nobles did not disdain the title of *liber homo*, or 'Freyherr,' and we find such expressions as *liberos homines vel nobiles*. In one of the early chronicles, a count named Herimann is placed among the *liberi homines*; a charter of 1134 is witnessed *ex liberis hominibus* by Arnold Count of Cleve and William son of Count William; and in 1168 a certain *liber Bideluphus* is created by the Emperor Duke of Spoleto in Italy.<sup>2</sup> Some counts in Germany were apparently known as 'Freygrafs.'<sup>3</sup> The German barons are divided by some authors into several ranks, amongst which were the 'Freyen' or *liberi*, the 'Freyherren' or *liberi domini*, and the 'Semper Freyen' or *semper liberi*,<sup>4</sup> gradations of liberty which bring to one's mind the *liber homo*, the *liberalis homo* and the *homo liberalior* of Domesday and the Norman law books. But the better opinion seems to be that in Germany the first two titles and that of 'Edlen' were applicable to all barons, and were not intended to make a distinction between them. In the High German translation of the laws of the *Alamanni*, called the *Speculi Suevici*, free men are divided into three classes, the 'Semperfrien,' or lords with vassals under them, the 'mittlerfrien,' or vassals, and the 'geburen,' 'fri-lantsæzzen,' or ordinary freemen.<sup>5</sup> In Holland also the same connection of ideas may be traced. Selden quotes an old glossary wherein *Baro*, as denoting freedom, is rendered as *Dominus vel Princeps*, and states that in order 'to fit the name of Baron with their *Fryen* and *Fryberren*, some learned men tell us that in old Dutch *Bar*, which signifies a man or man child, is justly also interpreted by *Frye* or *Freo*.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Du Cange, under 'Francus', *Gentilis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* under 'Liberi.'

<sup>3</sup> Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 376.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 426.

<sup>5</sup> Seebohm's *Early Village Comm.* p. 394; see also an old note in Harleian MS. 6064.

<sup>6</sup> Selden, p. 429.



It is a strange and unexplained fact that in France and Germany nobility was somehow connected with freedom, that counts and barons and dukes were content to be classed among the *liberi homines*, and that *francus* or 'free' conveyed the same meaning as *nobilis* or *gentilis*; and the fact seems stranger still when we discover that these ideas were not confined to the continent, but can be traced in England also. Spelman asserts that the title of *liber homo* was once applied to nobles, for scarce any one beside was entirely free, and Maitland that 'in the Norman age we see traces of a usage which will not allow any one is "free," if he is not "noble."' <sup>1</sup> We know that several of the *liberi homines* mentioned in the Domesday Survey were lords of manors and men of high position. Even as late as the fourteenth century 'free' was used both in England and Scotland in the sense of 'noble, honourable, of gentle birth and breeding.' <sup>2</sup> Thus in Chaucer's *House of Fame* we have <sup>3</sup>—

His fader Anchises the free;

in *Richard of Gloucester* (1297)—

Of fayrost fourme and maners,  
And mest gentyl and fre; <sup>4</sup>

in the *Legend of the Life of St. Alexius* <sup>5</sup>—

A yong man gent and fre;

and in *Sir Ferumbras* (c. 1380) <sup>6</sup>—

As thou are gent and free. <sup>7</sup>

In the old English romances knights are usually either 'gentil' or 'free.' Chaucer writes in *The Monkes Tale*—

He was of knyghthod and of fredam flour.

Minot, in his *Songs of King Edward's Wars*, <sup>8</sup> has the lines—

The right aire of that cuntre  
Es cumen with all his knightes fre  
To schac him by the berd;

and in Caxton's *Four Sons of Aymon* <sup>9</sup> the word occurs again in the same sense,—

They met wyth damp Rambault, the free knyght.

<sup>1</sup> *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *New English Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> i. 442.

<sup>4</sup> 1724, 420.

<sup>5</sup> *E.E.T.S.* (1878), p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27, line 646.

<sup>7</sup> See also Weber's *Metr. Rom.* ii. 290.

<sup>8</sup> Wright's *Political Songs*, i. 67.

<sup>9</sup> ix. 199.



The adjective 'free' might be applied to higher personages than knights. In the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion* (before 1300)<sup>1</sup> we hear of 'barouns free,' in *Sir Gawayne*<sup>2</sup> (1320-30) of a 'free lorde,' in William of Palerne (c. 1340) of a 'fre quene,' and in *Sir Ferumbras*<sup>3</sup> of a 'kyng y-crowned free.' In the *Legends of the Holy Rood* the Virgin Mary is spoken of as 'Oure ladi freo,' and in the Touneley play of *Noab and his Ark*, God is referred to as 'that fre.' 'Free' is also used as a substantive to denote a 'person of noble birth or breeding, a knight or lady.'<sup>4</sup> Chaucer in his *Compleint to his Lady*<sup>5</sup> speaks of a 'goodly free,' and in the English version of the *Song of Roland*<sup>6</sup> (1350-1400), there is the line—

Though every fre wer aferid, fle will we never.

In the phrase 'gent and fre,' or 'gentyll and fre,' of the use of which I might have quoted a score of other instances, we have a curious parallel to the *franc et gentil* of the French romances and the *liber vel nobilis* of the German chronicle. According to Selden, the 'Freye vom Adel'<sup>7</sup> was free from taxes and subject to no court but the emperor's, and it might have been supposed that the French nobles were *franci* in the sense that they were free from taxes and tallages, and that the Saxon thanes were 'freo' in the sense that no one but the king had jurisdiction over them.<sup>8</sup> But this theory cannot be maintained. In Germany, as I understand, many who did not hold immediately of the emperor were known as 'freyen' and 'freyherren,' and throughout Europe all tenants *in feodo*, small as well as great, were free from tribute and taxes. The English phrase 'gentyll and free' cannot be merely an adaptation from the French, for in the old English tongue 'free' was used hundreds of years before the Norman conquest to express nobility and even dominion over others. In the supplement to Alfric's vocabulary, *liberi* is translated as 'freobearn, vel aethelborene cild.'<sup>9</sup> In the rules of St. Benedict, 'freoh' is used for *ingenuus, qui sui juris est*, and in the Lambeth Psalter 'frearecceras' for *domini principes*.<sup>10</sup> In the poetic paraphrase of the Doxology, made, it is supposed, in the eighth century,

<sup>1</sup> Weber, ii. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *E.E.T.S.*

<sup>3</sup> p. 18, line 466.

<sup>4</sup> *New English Dictionary.*

<sup>5</sup> 103.

<sup>6</sup> *E.E.T.S.* (1880), p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> *Titles of Honour*, p. 855, 425.

<sup>8</sup> Heywood, *On Distinctions in Society* (1818), p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> *Wright's Vocab.* 173, 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Lye's Saxon Dict.* (1772).

'Lord of mankind' is rendered as 'frea mancynnes,'<sup>1</sup> Caedmon, in the seventh century, has 'freo' and 'frea' for *dominus* and 'freolic' for *liberalis, ingenuus*,<sup>2</sup> and in the Old English version of the *De Die Judicii*, God the Father is alluded to as the 'mightig frea,' 'rican frean,' 'lifes frean,' or more simply as 'frean,' the Lord.<sup>3</sup>

This early use of the word 'free' to denote a noble or lord has escaped the notice of historians, and, if I mistake not, may throw a new light upon the development of early German institutions and the origin of the village community and the manor. We have seen that freedom and nobility were linked together in England France and Germany as early as the eighth century, and may reasonably infer that this connection of ideas, or at least the causes which led up to it, must date back to a period before the Saxon settlement in England. Could this double meaning of 'frea' and 'fryen' and 'franc' spring up in a free community? Does it draw a distinction between the free tribesman and the serf, or between the noble and the depressed freeman? Does it lead us back to the mark system or to the Roman villa, to the wild forest life when the little tribal chieftains were judges and governors over their kin, or to the mouldering ruins of a degenerate empire where every man was either a noble or a slave? So much may depend upon the answer which will eventually be given to these questions that I dare not undertake to deal with them; but to give my opinion for what it may be worth, I think this other sense of the word 'free' disposes once for all of the theory that anything resembling the mark system was ever introduced into England. I think that the long descent towards villeinage must have begun at a much earlier date than has hitherto been supposed. We know that before the Roman conquest the free tribesmen of Gaul had been forced to surrender their liberty and had become little more than *servi* of the chiefs.<sup>4</sup> The same evil influences may have been at work elsewhere. I suspect that the seeds of decay were already present in the German institutions described by Cæsar and Tacitus, that the government was practically in the hands of the ealdormen and adalings, and

<sup>1</sup> *E.E.T.S.* (1876), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 'The Oldest English Texts,' p. 149; and *Lye's Dict.*

<sup>3</sup> See *E.E.T.S.* 'De Domes Daege; also the 42nd law of King Ina; and Heywood, *On Distinctions in Society* (1818), p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> Seebohm's *Early Vill. Comm.* p. 305.

that the ordinary freeman had no real share of political power. Under Charlemagne the freeman had fallen so low as to be excluded by law from the national assemblies, and in the vast majority of cases had already commended himself to a lord. Amongst the Franks the state of the case was even worse, for before the year 900 the free tribesmen had sunk until they were little above the level of slaves, and were ever slipping down into the servile class.<sup>1</sup> In England the ceorl, when we first meet with him, is seldom entirely free; he owes rent in labour or kind or money for his lands; he rides and carries and goes on errands at his lord's command; at the freest, with but few exceptions, he has commended himself to some thane from whom he may not depart.<sup>2</sup> I do not deny that in the ninth and tenth centuries the ceorl is following the downward path towards serfdom, being depressed by the institution of kingship, the rise of the thanes and the influence of the Church; so much is clearly proved by the wergild set upon his head which, as time goes on, becomes actually or relatively smaller.<sup>3</sup> But I say that he had entered upon that path before the sixth century. In the seventh century commendation was a common if not a usual practice both in England and Germany,<sup>4</sup> and amongst the Saxons on the continent the ealdormen seem to have been arbitrary rulers who did not hesitate to wipe out with fire and sword a township which had offended them.<sup>5</sup> Let us apply to these facts our new discovery that in the seventh century, and probably much earlier, the ceorl, like the *villanus* of Domesday, was in a sense unfree, and it will open to our view, as by a flash of lightning, a later stage in the development of German institutions than that which Tacitus described. The ealdorman has made good the claims of hereditary descent, and the eorls in his *comitatus* are already in a sense servants or thanes. The ordinary freeman is oppressed with food rents and labour dues, and in many cases has commended himself to a lord. None but the ealdormen and older eorls are entirely free. Such, I imagine, was the state of society amongst the Saxons and Angles before they left the continent, for military expeditions across the sea require a capitalist, and it was not

<sup>1</sup> *Enc. Brit.* ix. 533.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland's *Domesday and Beyond*, pp. 327-32.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.* i. 175.

<sup>4</sup> See the Laws of Ina; and Seebohm, *Early Vill. Comm.* p. 317.

<sup>5</sup> Bede, Book. v. chap. x.



to the council or to the tribesmen that the Britons appealed in their distress, but to the æthelings or ealdormen. Even in the time of Caesar the land was allotted to every man by the aldermen and magistrates, not by the council, and it is probable that the conquered territories in England were parted by the ealdormen amongst their personal followers, and that our 'hams' and 'tons' take their names not from free tribal communities but from the eorls to whom they were assigned.

But to take up again the main thread of my argument, which is the medieval conception of nobility<sup>1</sup> and especially of gentility as allied to freedom, I would point out that the same idea is conveyed by the classical *gens* and *gentilis*. Horace has *sine gente* for one that bears a servile name and is descended from servile ancestors. In the earliest days of Rome, when every free-born man was a patrician, the *gens* was a military and political union of families and so of *patres*, descended from a common ancestor and bearing the same name. The *gentiles*, or members of these clans, were alone eligible for public office. We hear of gentile statutes and decrees and even of war waged by a *gens*, and it would therefore appear that each of these clans or kindreds must have originally possessed a common council or assembly, with the power of exacting military service from all its members. Every *pater*, or head of a family, had *patria potestas*, that is to say absolute power extending even to punishment by death, over all his descendants in the male line born in *justæ nuptiæ*. Under the same private law of *patria potestas*, the landed property of the clan (*hereditates gentiliciæ*) was divided amongst the *patres*, and it is in this connection that we find what is probably the first occurrence of the word *gentilis*. The Twelve Tables, published in B.C. 449, enact that *si agnatus nec escit, gentiles familiam habento*. The circle of the *gens* was drawn closer by the *sacra gentilicia*, or common worship and sacrifice peculiar to its members, such as the cult of Apollo by the Julian. The *tumulus gentilicius* was at first common to all the *gentiles*, as in the case of the Claudii, and the

<sup>1</sup> It appears by a passage in Theganus that nobility was impossible after enfranchisement. Neckam (*Chronicles and Memorials*, pp. 243-4) speaks of nobility adorning liberty. Upton lays down that a man may be noble in one place and ignoble in another, as is apparent in the case of the English nobles captured in the realm of France, because as long as they are in the hands of their enemies they are serfs and captives of the latter, and yet in England they remain free and noble as before (Bysshe, *Upton*, p. 3).



*gentilicia funera* were followed by the smoke-begrimed effigies of the deceased person's ancestors. In some of the *gentes* ancient tribal customs were also observed, for Pliny quotes from Varro a statement that in the family of the Serani (Attilian gens) *gentilicium est feminas linea veste non uti* (Pliny, 19, 1, 2).

The *Comitia Curiata*, of which all the constituents were originally *patres*, had from the earliest times the power of co-opting an alien *gens* or a plebeian *stirps* into the patrician order on the proposal of a magistrate (apparently the *prætor*), and this might also be done by the king, though probably not without the consent of the *patres*. The Octavii were so ennobled by Servius Tullius in the sixth century B.C. Under the republic the creation of fresh patrician *gentes* is said to have ceased, because there was no political assembly composed exclusively of members who fulfilled all the conditions of *gentiles*; but it appears that the *senatus* and *populus* sometimes conferred the rank of patrician, as in the case of Appius Claudius and his *gens* and of Domitius Ahenobarbus. Such admissions must have been very rare, for towards the end of the republic the patrician order was rapidly becoming extinct, and not more than fifty families were still existing. Just as in England the older class of 'eorls' was merged in a new nobility of office, so at Rome the place of the patricians is taken by the *nobiles*, or families whose ancestors have held Curule magistracies. The conferring of the patriciate was revived by Cæsar in his dictatorship, the power being obtained by a vote of the populace. In later times the elevation of *gentes* and the grant of the personal title of *patricius* became a privilege of the emperors, and Pliny in the sixth book of his letters speaks of the upstarts, who by imperial favour or influence at Court have been raised in rank, and have laid the foundations *ingentium splendidarumque gentilitatum*.

Livy<sup>1</sup> describes how in B.C. 445 the Bill *de Conubio*, which repealed the denial in the eleventh table of intermarriage between patricians and plebeians, was opposed by the former, on the ground that their blood would be contaminated and their *jura gentium* confounded. Even before the passing of this Act, some patrician *gentes* contained plebeian families or *stirpes*, descended it is supposed from *gentiles* who had married outside the limits of their order. We find that gentile inheritances were shared by the plebeian Minucii and gentile sepulchres by

<sup>1</sup> 4, 1, 1.

the plebeian Popilii.<sup>1</sup> In later times the confusion became worse confounded. The Claudii had attached to them several dependent *stirpes* of servile origin, amongst which was that of the Claudii Marcelli, and Cicero<sup>2</sup> refers to a dispute which sprang up over the property of the intestate son of a *libertus* or freedman of the Marcelli, which the Claudii claimed as belonging to them by the gentile rights. Besides the plebeian families contained in patrician *gentes*, and the families of clients and freedmen linked to the latter and bearing their name, there were undoubtedly also plebeian *gentes*, having like the patricians *sacra* and *patria potestas*. These were of free origin, being descended from the Latins removed from Alba and other conquered towns in the seventh century before Christ.

The law of inheritance, as laid down in the Twelve Tables, must have made it necessary at an early period to obtain a legal definition of the term *gentilis*. Quintus Mucius Scævola, known as Pontifex, who died in B.C. 82, was the earliest Roman jurist who attempted to systematize the *jus civile*, which he did in a work of eighteen books. He defines *gentiles* as 'freemen sprung from freemen, of whose ancestors no one served in bondage.'<sup>3</sup> Cicero in his *Topics*<sup>4</sup> gives a fuller explanation of the word. 'Those are *gentiles*,' he writes, 'who have the same name in common. That is not enough. Who are born of free parents. Not even that is enough. Of whose ancestors no one has served in bondage. There remains to be said, that they have not been deprived of the citizenship. This perhaps is sufficient; for I do not see that Scævola Pontifex added anything to this definition.'<sup>5</sup>

Some writers have doubted whether the medieval 'gentil' comes from the classical *gentilis*, and have suggested that it may more probably be derived from a barbarous use of the word in later times; for after the introduction of Christianity *gentilis* came to mean a gentile or foreigner, and was applied by the Romans to the uncivilized tribes which threatened to overwhelm the empire. There is a law of Valentinian and Valens,

<sup>1</sup> Cicero in Verr. 45, 115; de Leg. ii. 25, 55.      <sup>2</sup> de Orat. i. 39, 176.

<sup>3</sup> Ingenuos ab ingenuis oriundos, quorum majorum nemo servitutem serviit.

<sup>4</sup> vi. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Itemque, ut illud; Gentiles sunt, qui inter se eodem nomine sunt. Non est satis. Qui ab ingenuis oriundi sunt. Ne id quidem satis est. Quorum majorum nemo servitutem servivit. Abest etiam nunc, qui capite non sunt diminuti. Hoc fertasse satis est. Nihil enim video Scævola Pontificem ad hanc definitionem addidisse.

entitled *De Nuptiis Gentilium*, which forbids any Roman or provincial woman to marry a *gentilis*, and any provincial to take a wife of that kind, that is to say *uxor barbara*. The word is used in the same sense in the code of Theodosius, and in the later codes generally it denotes, when religion is concerned, a pagan, and in laws relating to civil government all who are not Roman citizens. Isidore and S. Augustine use it in the former sense, and, in curious contradiction to the modern idea of a Christian gentleman, explain that *gentilis ille est qui in Christum non credit*. Selden imagines<sup>1</sup> that the name of *gentiles*, applied by the degenerate Romans to their conquerors, was afterwards adopted by the latter as a title of honour, to distinguish the free tribesman from the serfs who paid him tribute and tallage. The French writer, Pasquier, to whom he refers the reader for evidence, puts forward a still more ingenious hypothesis. He quotes (*Les Recherches de la France*, 1607, 200) the passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, describing how after the capture of Cologne the Emperor Julian wintered at Sens, where in the absence of his *scutarii* and *gentiles* he was almost overwhelmed by a horde of enemies. What could *scutarii* and *gentiles* mean? Obviously there was only one explanation. They were esquires and gentlemen; and Pasquier goes on to surmise that they may have received grants of land in Gaul as a reward for their services and have founded the order of *gentilbommes*. To the modern mind this is not convincing. In the Saxon vocabularies *gentilis* is simply a Gentile, and the word in its other meaning may well have been introduced into France, England and Spain in the twelfth century from Italy, where it had apparently continued to be used, though very rarely, in its Ciceronian sense. Its first appearance in medieval literature, as expressing a man of good birth, is, I believe, in Wace's estimate of the character of Richard the Good, who succeeded to the dukedom of Normandy in 996. The duke, he tells us, surprised his people by the magnificence of his court, and would have none, even in the smallest offices of his household, but *gentils*, to whom there was livery of rations every day and of cloth at the four great feasts of the year:—

Tant i mist è tant i duna,  
 Tuit li pople s' esmerveilla.  
 Ne volt mestier de sa meisun  
 Duner se à gentiz hons nun.

<sup>1</sup> This was M. Velsler's theory. See *Rerum Aug. Vindel.* (1593), p. 163, liber viii.



Gentil furent li capelain,  
 Gentil furent li escrivain,  
 Gentil furent li cunestable  
 E bien poessanz è bien aidable ;  
 Gentil furent li Senescal,  
 Gentil furent li Marescal,  
 Gentil furent li Buteillier,  
 Gentil furent li Despensier ;  
 Li Chamberlenc è li Uissier  
 Furent tuit noble Chevalier.<sup>1</sup>

These lines occur in the second part of the *Roman de Rou*, which is supposed to have been finished in its present form in 1170. Wace does not here rely on his usual authorities, Dudo of St. Quentin and William of Jumieges, and he seems to be applying a new-fashioned word to an older state of things. I have not found *gentil* in any earlier writer, and suspect that its sudden appearance must be connected with the great revival of learning in the first half of the twelfth century, and that the classical use of it may have been revived by Saxo Grammaticus or by one of the group of scholars who studied under Abelard at the University of Paris. But indeed it is doubtful whether *gentilis*, in the sense of a man of family, was ever completely lost. Selden seems to admit this by his statement that in the dark ages it is 'not a very usual word.'<sup>2</sup> Boetius in the sixth century wrote a commentary upon Cicero's *Topics*, in which he enlarges upon the latter's definition of *gentilis*,<sup>3</sup> and both

<sup>1</sup> *Roman de Rou*, 5955. According to Du Cange, who had missed these lines, the word occurs elsewhere in the poem :—

'Moult fu beaus, moult fu Gens,  
 Gentis homs rassembla.'

And again :—

'Elle fu de Chartres Comtesse  
 Espousée au Comte Estevenon  
 Gentilhomme, noble Baron.'

The word is also used by Radulfus de Diceto, who is supposed to have died in 1202.

<sup>2</sup> I can find no instance. St. Athanasius employs it in the sense of kinship, to denote a man belonging to the same *gens*.

<sup>3</sup> "Gentiles" are those who have the same name in common, as the Scipios, the Brutuses and the rest. What if they are slaves? Can there be any Gentilitas of slaves? By no means. We must add then, Who are born of free parents. But if the descendants of Freedmen who are Roman Citizens are proclaimed by the same name? Is there any Gentilitas? Not even so. Since Gentilitas is derived from the antiquity of the free: let it be added then, Whose ancestors have none of them served in bondage. What if by adoption he pass into the family of another? Then, even if he be proclaimed by the name of



Cicero and Boetius had their admirers even in the blackest days of ignorance and superstition. In later times the classical distinction between *nobilis* and *gentilis* must have been remembered, for though letters of nobility are common, no king ever attempted to make a gentleman.<sup>1</sup>

For these and other reasons I incline towards the classical derivation of *gentil*, but though the point is an exceedingly interesting one, its determination in either direction will not affect my argument. In either case, *gentil* originally conveyed the idea of freedom, as opposed to serfdom. Throughout the middle ages some trace of the old meaning remains and is constantly pressing itself upon our notice. It is suggested by the phrases 'gent and free,' 'franc et gentil,' and by the description of franc tenure as *gentile et nobile*. It is flashed upon us with startling directness in the opening lines of the *Lytel Feste of Robyn Hode* :<sup>2</sup>—

Lithe and lysten, gentylnen,  
That be of free bore blode ;

and again in *Piers the Plowman*, where the whole Jewish nation are said to have been originally 'gentel-men,' but since the death of Christ 'lowe cheorles,' 'under tribut and taillage' :—

The Iuwes that weren gentel-men, Iesu thei dispiseden,  
Bothe hus lore and hus lawe, now aren thei lowe cheorles.  
As wide as the worlde is, wonyeth ther none  
Bote under tribut and taillage, as tikes and cheorles.  
And tho that by-comen Christine, by consail of the baptist,  
Aren frankelayns and freo, thorgh fullyng that thei toke,  
And gentel-men with Iesu.

that clan into which he has passed, though he be born of free parents, and of such parents as have never served in bondage, yet since he does not remain in the family of his clan, he cannot remain even in its *Gentilitas* : so we must add : And not deprived of the citizenship. This perhaps, says he, is sufficient according to the definition of Scævola the Pontifex : he added nothing further, so that this is the definition of Gentiles, Gentiles are those who have the same name in common, born of free parents, whose ancestors have none of them served in bondage, and where no disfranchisement (*capitis diminutio*) has destroyed the *Gentilitas*' (Boetius in *Top. Cic.* ed. 1497, p. 157).

<sup>1</sup> There is perhaps an approach to this in 1389, when Richard II. stated that he had 'received' John de Kyngeston *en l'estat de Gentile Homme*. I take it that this is an acknowledgment of gentle birth and not a grant of gentility, but however that may be, the phrase is ambiguous and evasive when compared with the *nobilitamus, nobilemque facimus et creamus* of other charters.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in 1495, but written, according to Hunter and other good judges, in the fourteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> C. Passus, xxii. 34.

Professor Skeat in his glossarial index to the poem renders 'gentel-men' as 'free-men,' but this interpretation hardly goes far enough. Gentility here, as in the definitions of Scævola and Cicero and Boetius, is ancient freedom of race.

A gentleman then is not, as the *New English Dictionary* lays down, a person of 'heraldic status' who is 'entitled to bear arms,' but a freeman whose ancestors have always been free. In blood he represents the unconquered tribesman of Germany or Britain, and in name the ancient liberty of Rome. To my mind this is not only a true but also a comfortable doctrine, for even the most earnest Radical will hardly repress some feeling of respect for the families which clung to freedom, or fought for it, when most of the world was enslaved, nor ever 'bowed their heads for meat in the evil days.' It is a doctrine which will of course involve us in some difficulties. In the fourteenth century villein tenure had not yet developed into copyhold, and no one whose forefathers at that period held 'in bondage' can possibly come under the terms of our definition. We are thus driven to the painful but irresistible conclusion that quite twenty-five per cent of our peers are not gentlemen. On the other hand, many persons whom we have not been accustomed to regard in that light may have a good claim to the title; it may be urged that for four centuries, a period as long as most patrician *stemmata* could show, our English ancestors have been a free nation; and perhaps, after all, we shall do better to drop the use of 'gentleman' as a description of rank or status, and to conclude with Chaucer's elf-queen that it is not 'renomee of auncestres,' but 'gentil dedes' which make the 'gentil man.'

GEORGE R. SITWELL.

## HERALDIC GLASS FROM LYTES CARY, CO. SOMERSET

THE shields of arms, of which illustrations are given herewith, were, for more than two centuries, in windows of the old manor house of Lytes Cary, co. Somerset. They were made for John Lyte, who considerably altered the house between the years 1523 and 1566. His arms and those of his wife, Edith Horsey, are still to be seen there in several places, on the gable of the oriel of the east front, on the ceiling of the 'great chamber,' and on the large bay window of the south front, which also bears their initials and the date 1533.<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as some of the shields are known to have been in the lower part of that window, in the 'parlour' under the 'great chamber,' we may reasonably suppose these to have been made in or about that year. The remainder, showing the handiwork of several artists, cannot in any case be very much later in date, for the marriage of John Lyte's eldest son Henry, in 1565, is commemorated by glass of a totally different character.

Nearly all the shields executed in glass for John Lyte have the Lyte arms on the dexter side, his object having been to show the marriages of different male members of his family. It is, however, very remarkable that his own grandson, Thomas Lyte, a keen genealogist, who had inherited a large collection of old deeds and evidences, failed to locate some of these alliances in his elaborate pedigree of the Lytes of Lytes Cary.

'Ten foote and halfe of glasse,' recorded to have been 'sett upp in the chapple windoe at Lytes Cary by Henry Lyte, Esquire, Anno Domini 1567,' presumably consisted of plain quarrels. A further series of shields was certainly made for Thomas Lyte, who 'newely repayred' the chapel in 1631, and adorned its walls with the arms of various relations.

When the Lytes sold their ancestral home in 1755, they appear to have removed the heraldic glass, but as late as 1810 there were persons living who remembered the time when the

<sup>1</sup> Detailed information with regard to Lytes Cary and its owners will be found in the *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, xxxviii. 1-110.





No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.





window of the dining-room, or 'great parlour,' 'was enriched with painted glass, containing the arms of many persons connected with the family.' Upwards of twenty shields more or less perfect, and a number of fragments, somehow found their way into the church of Angersleigh near Taunton, a place with which the Lytes never had any connexion, and were recovered thence more than thirty years ago. They are now in my possession. Considering their history, they may be said to be in good preservation. The original number must, however, have been considerably larger.

Of the shields now reproduced, five are in roundels and twelve in rectangular panels. The former may be thus described:—

1. A roundel  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, exclusive of an outer border of conventional foliage. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *azure* three horses' heads *or*, with bridles. The shield is that of John Lyte, who married Edith daughter of John Horsey of Martin, co. Wilts, in 1521. It is now reproduced in colour.

2. A similar roundel. *Azure* three horses' heads *or*, with bridles, impaling *gules* three bars *ermine*. The shield is that of John Horsey of Martin (the father of Edith Lyte), who married, as his first wife, Isabel daughter of Thomas Hussey of Shapwick, co. Dorset.

3. A roundel  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *gules* three infants' heads. The shield is that of a Lyte who married a Fauntleroy. According to the pedigree by Thomas Lyte mentioned above, John Lyte who lived in the later part of the fifteenth century married a Fauntleroy of Marsh, but no authority is given. It is certain that, in or before 1474, he married Joan daughter and heiress of John Ilberd.

4. A roundel of like size. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *azure* a dolphin *argent* between three mullets *gules*. The shield is that of a Lyte who married a FitzJames. According to the pedigree, Thomas Lyte who lived in the middle of the fifteenth century married a FitzJames of Redlinch, but no authority is given. His wife's Christian name is known to have been Joan. The dexter half of this shield differs from most of those representing the Lyte arms, in that the leads do not follow the lower edges of the swans' necks. Nobody conversant with the rules of modern heraldry

will fail to observe that the sinister half of this shield shows colour upon colour.

5. A roundel of like size. *Argent* a chevron *erminees* between three birds *sable*, impaling *gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*. This is in some respects the most interesting piece of the Lytes Cary glass, though by no means the most ornamental. The actual shield is smaller than the others and different in form. The chevrons are unusually broad. Furthermore, the swans have been rendered by scraping away the ruby glass flashed on to white, whereas in all the glass executed for John Lyte the swans are on separate pieces of glass surrounded by lead. It may be added that the back is much corroded by exposure to the weather. Altogether the facts seem to indicate that this shield dates from the fifteenth century, and that, for the sake of uniformity, it was enlarged in the sixteenth century, by the addition of white glass on two sides. The families of Wyke of Bindon, Owen, Wells, and Bayley are credited with arms somewhat similar to those on the dexter half of this shield. On the other hand, a shield exactly corresponding with this seems to have been painted on the south wall of the chapel at Lytes Cary by order of Thomas Lyte in 1631, with the inscription beneath: 'Luce, Lady Morgan.' According to the pedigree, a certain Sir Philip Morgan married a daughter of John Lyte soon after the middle of the fifteenth century, but her name is given as Agnes.

It is quite possible that the roundels numbered above 3, 4 and 5 were formerly surrounded with conventional foliage, for there exist various fragments of borders exactly similar to those which surround numbers 1 and 2.

The rectangular panels measure about 13 by 12 inches. The shields in them are on party-coloured grounds of ruby, blue, green, or purple. Ruby glass is used for the fields of the Lyte arms, but in the sinister halves of some of the shields *gules* is rendered by a tawny colour applied. The jewelled borders are mainly in gold stain on white glass. Careful examination shows that six of the panels, numbers 6 to 11, constitute one series, and five others, numbers 12 to 16, another series. The former have boys' heads in the upper corners, and heads of men in armour in the lower corners; the latter have no heads in the borders. Then again, the white chevrons are shaded in the former series, as in the roundel numbered 4 above, but diapered in the latter, as in the roundels



No. 6.



No. 7.



No. 8.



No. 9.





numbered 1 and 3 above. These minute variations do not necessarily prove any great difference in date between the two series. Perhaps they only indicate that two artists were employed upon the work. The panels may be described as follows :—

6. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *argent* a cross engrailed *sable*, with an eagle *gules* in the quarter. Inscribed : 'Lyte and Drecote.' The shield is that of Robert le Lyt, who married Isabel daughter and heiress of Peter of Draycot, in or about 1273. It is definitely stated to have been 'in the great bay windoe in the parler' at Lytes Cary.

7. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *sable* a goat in his kind standing on a mount *vert*. Inscribed : 'Lyte and Gotebursts' (*sic*). The shield is that of a second Robert le Lyt, who married Margaret daughter of Roger of Goathurst, towards the end of the reign of Edward I.

8. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *argent* three roundels *azure*, each charged with as many chevrons *gules*. Inscribed : 'Lyte and Carent.' The shield is that of Edmund Lyte who married Thomasia sister of William Carent of Toomer in or about the year 1378. This is also known to have been 'in the parler windoe at Lytescarye' in the time of Charles I. The Carent arms show colour upon colour.

9. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *argent* an ash tree on a mound. Inscribed : 'Lyte and Ash.' The shield is that of John Lyte who married Agnes daughter and heiress of John Ash of co. Devon, in or before the year 1428.

10. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *azure* a dolphin *argent* between three mullets *gules*. Inscribed : 'Lyte and FitzJamys.' This shield is historically a duplicate of that numbered 4, but different in execution.

11. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *argent* two glazier's irons in saltire between four pearls *gules*. Inscribed : 'Lyte and Kelloway.' The second of these names has been supplied in modern glass. Thomas Lyte, the genealogist, seems to have thought that this shield must necessarily have been that one of his direct ancestors, and tried to locate the match between Lyte and Kelloway in the fifteenth century. There were, however, two such matches in the first half of the sixteenth century, as he was aware. The shield may possibly be that of his own father Henry Lyte, who married Agnes

daughter and co-heiress of John Kelloway of Collumpton, in 1546. It is more probably that of William Lyte of Lillesdon, who married Dorothy daughter of Sir John Kelloway of Rockbourne, and relict of John Buller of Wode, in or before 1537. The pears in the sinister half of the shield were obviously of the kind known as 'Kelways.' The meaning of the glazier's irons is not so obvious.

Proceeding with the second series of panels, the shields are as follows:—

12. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *argent* a chevron between three moorcocks. Inscribed: 'Lyte and Drue.' The shield is that of Thomas Lyte, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Drew of Bridgwater, in or before 1498.

13. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *azure* three horses' heads *or*, with bridles. Inscribed: 'Lyte and Horsse.' This shield is historically a duplicate of that numbered 1. The chevron is of modern glass.

14. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *argent* a chevron between three chess-rooks *sable*. Inscribed: 'Lyte and Fitzwucke.' The sinister half of the shield bears some resemblance to the arms of the family of Wyke of Nynhead. The charges may, however, be mill-rinds, salt-cellars, or even dice-boxes.

15. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *or* three piles *azure*. Inscribed: 'Lyte and Brune.' The sinister half of this shield shows the arms of the family of Bryan of co. Dorset.

16. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling *argent* a chevron *sable* between three hammers, the heads *sable*, the handles *gules*. Inscribed: 'Lyte . . .' The arms on the sinister half of this shield are unknown.

The last of the rectangular panels now reproduced differs from the others in that the shield alone dates from the sixteenth century, the diapered ground and the border having alike been added in the reign of James I. or Charles I.

17. *Gules* a chevron between three roses *argent*, impaling *gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*. The shield is that of Sir Nicholas Wadham of Merrifield, who married, as his fourth wife, Joan daughter of Richard Lyte, relict of William Walton of Barton. She died in 1557. Part only of her monumental brass remains in Ilton church. The pedigree by Thomas Lyte





No. 10.



No. 11.



No. 12.



No. 13.





shows the whole of it. Within the last few years, four heraldic tiles have been discovered close to her tomb, two bearing the arms of Wadham, and two the arms of Lyte, the chevron charged with a crescent, to indicate that Richard Lyte, her father, was the second son of John Lyte of Lytes Cary.

Four panels, uniform in size with the preceding, were executed for Thomas Lyte in or soon after 1621. They have not been photographed. Their borders are obviously copied from those of the sixteenth century, but no ruby, blue or other coloured glass was used, the heraldic charges being rendered by paint or stain on the surface of the white glass. The difference between *gules* and *or* is almost imperceptible. These four shields may be described as follows:—

18. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, their bills *or*, impaling *argent* a saltire engrailed *gules*, charged with a fleur de lys *or*, for difference. Inscribed: 'Lyte and Tiptoft.' The shield is that of Henry Lyte, who married, as his second wife, Frances daughter of John Tiptoft of London, in 1565.

19. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, their bills *or*, impaling *argent* a two-headed eagle *sable*, the beaks and legs *gules*. Inscribed: 'Lyte and Worth.' 'Anno Dom. 1592.' The shield is that of Thomas Lyte, who married Frances daughter of Henry Worth of Worth, co. Devon.

20. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, their bills *or*, impaling *argent* a chevron *gules* between three roundels *azure*. Inscribed: 'Lyte and Baskerville.' 'Anno Dom. 1621.' The shield is that of Henry Lyte, who married Constance daughter of Captain Nicholas Baskerville of Sunningwell, co. Berks.

21. Quarterly of six. 1 and 6, *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, their bills *or*; 2, *Argent* a cross engrailed *sable* with an eagle *gules* in the quarter; 3, *Argent* on a fesse between three ducks *sable* three bezants; 4, *Argent* an ash tree erased; 5, *Argent* a chevron *sable* between three moorcocks. The first and sixth quarters are Lyte; the second quarter is Draycot; the third quarter, in modern glass, may possibly be Blomvill; the fourth quarter is Ash; the fifth quarter is Drew.

Of the fragments not made up into roundels or rectangular panels, the following date from the sixteenth century:—

(a) A shield uniform in size and shape with those described above. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, impaling

*azure* three horses' heads *or*, with bridles. This shield is historically identical with numbers 1 and 13 described above, but the treatment is different.

(b) Part of the sinister half of a shield, *azure*, cut to receive horses' heads as above.

(c) The dexter half of a shield. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*. The treatment is similar to that of number 4 described above.

(d) The dexter half of a shield. *Sable* a bend *or* between six fountains. Supporters, two antelopes *azure*. Inscribed: 'Lorde Sturton and My Ladys.'<sup>1</sup> This shield is presumably that of Edward, Lord Stourton, who married Agnes daughter of John Fauntleroy of Marsh. The sinister half would show *gules* three infants' heads. The badges of Stourton and Fauntleroy are to be seen on the great bay window of the south front of Lytes Cary.

(e) Two fragments of the dexter half of a shield. *Sable* a bend *or* between six fountains. These are the arms of Stourton, as above.

(f) Part of a shield. *Gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*, their bills *or*, impaling *argent* a cross engrailed *sable*, with an eagle *gules* in the quarter, and a mullet *sable* for difference. This shield is historically identical with number 6 described above, but the treatment is different. The addition of the mullet is also remarkable.

The following fragments date from the early part of the seventeenth century:—

(g) The dexter half of a shield about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . Quarterly 1, *Gules* a bend between six crosslets fitchy *argent*, a crescent *sable* for difference; 2, *Gules* three lions passant *or*, a label *argent*; 3, Chequy *or* and *azure*; 4, *Gules* a lion *argent*. A sinister supporter, a lion *argent* charged with a crescent. This shield is that of Thomas, Viscount Howard of Bindon, who married Gertrude daughter of William Lyte of Lillesdon. The arms given quarterly are 1 Howard, 2 Brotherton, 3 Warrene, and 4 FitzAlan. The sinister half of the shield would show *gules* a chevron between three swans *argent*.

(b) The dexter half of a similar shield: *Azure* three gauntlets *or*. Crest, a bull's head *argent* charged with a rose *gules*. This shield is that of Mildmay, Earl of Westmorland, who

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this glass is given in *The Noble House of Stourton*, opposite to page 546. See also page 1064 of that work.



No. 14.



No. 15.



No. 16.



No. 17.





married Grace, daughter of Sir William Thornhurst. The gauntlets have been rendered by scraping away the blue glass flashed on to white, and applying gold stain. The sinister half would show *ermine* on a chief *gules* two leopards' heads *or*.

(i) A very small fragment of a shield similar to the sinister half of number 16 above.

(k) A fragment of a shield. *Argent* on a chevron between three harts' heads erased *sable* as many hunting horns stringed *argent*. These were the paternal arms of the second wife of Thomas Lyte, Constance daughter of Matthew Huntley of Boxwell, relict successively of Captain Nicholas Baskerville and of Sir John Sidney.

(l) A crest. A hart's head erased *argent*, horned, crined, and collared *or*. This appears to be the crest of Wadham.

H. MAXWELL-LYTE.

## PEERAGE CASES

THE development of the British Constitution has long been the most fascinating subject for students of British history. The evolution of constitutional monarchy from the antagonism of arbitrary power in the monarch to the assertion of rights in the subject, is the theme which underlies all serious history and attests the value of diplomatic research.

The first stages of the combat between sovereign and subject were fought by kings and nobles, and for this reason the origin and development of the law of peerage must always be an important factor in the study of history as distinguished from mere chronicle.

It is now the general opinion that the commencement of our Parliamentary system cannot be placed earlier than the twenty-third year of King Edward I. after the Conquest, and that the definite form of Parliament, viz. an assembly consisting of lords spiritual and temporal, knights of the shire, and citizens of boroughs, was finally established in 6-8 Edward II.

There is no branch of law which has contributed more to the formation of this opinion than the law of peerage. It may therefore be not without interest to those concerned with the subjects to be considered in *The Ancestor* if I offer a few observations on the materials for studying peerage law, and on the points of law decided in some of the more conspicuous cases.

Before the Parliament was finally constituted the legislation for England was settled by the king, advised by the nobles who constituted the Curia Regis. These nobles were prelates, earls and barons, with whom were occasionally associated high officials who did not hold hereditary dignities. Although there can be little doubt that earldoms were in England always personal dignities, except perhaps one or two palatinates, there is no evidence to prove that baronies were personal dignities. It is indeed not by any means clear what was meant by the word baron. Accordingly when claims to sit in Parliament began there was much speculation and argument on the nature of a barony. It was asserted that a baron was a

tenant in chief holding his lands by the tenure called 'per baroniam,' and it was argued that such a tenure involved the service of attending the Curia Regis or Parliament when summoned, in addition to the military attendance due from all those holding by knight service in chief of the Crown. The theory that barons who received writs of summons when the Parliamentary system was settled were usually those previously summoned to the Curia Regis, and as supposed bound to attend, resulted in claims to the dignity of baron founded on tenure and subject to the law of descent incident to land. This theory suffered considerably by the decisions of the House of Lords in the seventeenth century. In the Grey de Ruthyn case, 1640, and in the FitzWalter case, 1670, it was decided that the law of descent applicable to dignities differed from that applicable to land. In the Fitzwalter case it was thought that peerage by tenure was obsolete, and in the Purbeck case, 1678, it was decided that no peer could surrender his dignity to the king. But during the same period and down to the union of the kingdoms in 1707 dignities could be and often were surrendered in Scotland, and such surrenders were undoubtedly lawful in England down to the reign of Richard II.

In the commencement of the nineteenth century a claim to peerage was made—that of Marmion—on the ground of tenure only, and in consequence a committee was appointed by the House of Lords to report on the nature of the dignity of a peer of the realm.

The reports of this committee and its successors were strongly antagonistic to any claim to peerage by tenure. These reports, of which there were six, 1819–25, are written in stately language, and are splendid examples of scientific argument. Their perusal is the first step necessary to the diligent student of peerage law and of the constitutional history of England. In some minor points the conclusions of the committees have been overruled, but the main argument is unanswerable.

Nevertheless the question of tenure was again raised by the owner (by devise) of Berkeley Castle, who had failed to establish his right to the earldom of Berkeley as lawful heir to his father, and who now claimed to be baron by tenure of the castle. All the arguments and illustrations from history which the reports had been intended to meet were revived,



and a vast number of important charters were printed as evidence, the dignities of Arundel, Abergavenny and De Lisle being urged as precedents. But in the result the House of Lords established by its resolution rejecting the claim, February, 1861, that claims to peerage by tenure are hopeless. On one or two subsequent occasions attempts have been made to found precedence among barons by writ upon previous tenure, but without success. Finally, in the de Wahul case, it was proposed that previous tenure constituted a presumption that one summoned by writ had sat upon his writ. This proposition was also rejected, and it must now be regarded as settled law that no connection whatever exists between the barons of the Curia Regis—not even between the parties to Magna Charta—and the existing dignity of a peer of the realm. It is not a little curious that the lords who thus defined the law should nevertheless when free from judicial restraint, and speaking at banquets, continue to describe the House of Lords as more ancient than the House of Commons.

The decisions of the seventeenth century, largely developed in the nineteenth, have established the fundamental principle that a dignity giving hereditary right to sit in Parliament can be constituted only by charter, or letters patent, or by writ of summons followed by sitting, that such dignity is inherent in the blood of the grantee and his heirs, and that if the right to such a dignity is successfully proved the claim to sit in Parliament is good against the Crown.

A peerage dignity, once validly created, can never be extinguished so long as there exist heirs of the grantee within the limitation of the dignity.

The enjoyment of the dignity may be in abeyance if being limited to heirs there be more heirs than one equally entitled. This doctrine has been gradually evolved by the House of Lords, as applicable to baronies created by writs of summons, but it has not yet been judicially decided that it applies to dignities otherwise created. The doctrine of abeyance is unknown to the peerage law of Scotland, the difference being that if an inheritance is indivisible no one of co-heirs can by English law inherit it, while the Scottish law gives it to the eldest co-heir.

The enjoyment of a dignity may be forfeited through corruption of blood by attainder, but even so the dignity exists in the Crown, and if the attainder is reversed the heir

of the grantee is revested in the dignity. The law of forfeiture as applicable to peerage succession was not fully decided until the hearing of the claim to the earldom of Airlie in 1812-19, when the judges of England, being summoned by the House of Lords, held unanimously that if an attainted person lived to succeed to a dignity, he took it for the Crown, and no remoter heir had right even though he proved that he had in his own line of descent no corruption of blood. This law (described by the Earl of Aberdeen, in a letter I possess, as most cruel and one which ought to be repealed) is founded in the law of England, and only became applicable to Scottish dignities by the statute enacting that the law of forfeiture in Scotland should follow the law of England.

In the course of the eighteenth century there were several peerage claims, but it was not until the close of the century that the evidence was printed. Consequently the nature of the claims and decisions can only be inferred from rare printed cases and the Lords' journals. The extraordinary proposition that whenever the instrument creating a dignity is lost it must be presumed to have contained a limitation to heirs male of the body (unless such presumption is contradicted by the facts of descent) was, it is supposed, first enunciated in the *Cassilis* case, 1762. I call the proposition extraordinary, because of all the dignities created before (approximately) the reign of Richard II. in England and of Robert Bruce in Scotland I know of none created otherwise than in fee. The presumption so established nearly resulted in gross injustice when the *Sutherland* case arose, 1769-71. A young lady was heir to her father, the last Earl of Sutherland of the Gordon line, whose vast estates were settled on the heir to the dignity. A remote heir male, relying on the presumption, contested the succession, and thus elicited the celebrated *Additional Case for the Countess of Sutherland*, attributed to Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Hailes. This masterpiece, which traced the law and succession of all the original earldoms of Scotland, convinced the House of Lords of their danger, and judgment was given for the countess, notwithstanding that no evidence could possibly be tendered to rebut the presumption. There exist unfortunately no minutes of the evidence proved in this case. The printing of evidence began with a series of claims to Scottish peerages—made in response to orders of the House of Lords rather than voluntarily—in consequence of a

disputed election of representative peers for Scotland in 1790. Most of the claims, which were in respect of dignities not upon the then existing Roll of Peers, were rejected. The evidence is extremely rare, and the late well known peerage counsel, Mr. Fleming, reprinted a few copies.

The study of peerage law from the printed evidence therefore begins with the last century, during the first half of which there were heard a great number of claims. The claim to the dukedom of Roxburgh, decided in 1812, turned upon a difficult settlement of lands and dignity. The Airlie, Marmion and Berkeley claims have already been mentioned. Previously in the period 1805-15 two very remarkable claims of the 'romantic' kind arose, one to the earldom of Berkeley, 1811, which turned on the date of a marriage, when the original parish register was proved to have been falsified, resulting in several hundred folio pages of printed evidence; the other to the earldom of Banbury, 1808-13, when a claim which had been in existence since the reign of Charles II. was again put forward. It is not possible within the limits of a single article to state the exact nature of each claim. Suffice it to say that in the Banbury case the ancestor actually sat in the House of Lords, received no writ to the next Parliament, was held by the Lord Chief Justice of England to have been wrongly indicted because not described as Earl of Banbury, and yet neither he nor any of his descendants ever succeeded in obtaining a writ, because the House of Lords is not bound by the maxim, *Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant*. This was further exemplified in the Gardner case, 1825-8, on which occasion many of the leading *accoucheurs* of Europe gave evidence on the length of time which can elapse between conception and birth.

During the period 1830-50 arose a number of claims to baronies created by writs of summons, and many dignities were called out of the abeyances of centuries. The successful result of these claims fortunately restored many old Roman Catholic families to the House of Lords; but it may reasonably be suspected that if the peers of the seventeenth century had foreseen that the evolution of their doctrine of abeyance would be the revival of dignities not heard of for centuries, placing an ordinary gentleman *per saltum* over the heads of all intervening barons, they would have been somewhat astonished. Equally may it be suspected that when King Edward I. sent a summons to one of his knights to confer with him and his



nobles, etc., on public affairs, it did not occur to his mind that if the knight obeyed he transmitted a right of peerage to his heirs for ever, not to be defeated by any subsequent omission of a king to summon him or his heirs on later occasions !

The Crawford case, 1845-8, was a remarkable example of pedigree proof, and was followed by a claim to the dukedom of Montrose, created in 1488, which resulted in the House of Lords declining to receive evidence of pedigree, and resolving that the dignity had been destroyed by an Act of Parliament in which it was not mentioned.

The Devon case, 1831, appeared to recognize the validity of a limitation to heirs male general which is unknown to the law of England. It was decided in favour of the claimant by Lord Brougham, whose judgments in peerage claims are not thought valuable. The decision prompted Mr. Scrope to claim, 1859-69, an earldom of Wiltes, created by Richard II., and entered in the Roll of Parliament 21 Ric. II. (perhaps in error) as limited to the grantee and his heirs male, among several other creations, all to heirs male of the body. The claim was rejected, and the lords took occasion to state that when sitting in Committee for Privilege they were not bound by the decisions of previous committees.

Other cases more interesting to novel writers are Strathmore, 1821, and Lauderdale, 1885, where legitimacy depended on domicile ; Breadalbane, 1864, Dundonald, 1863, and Dysart, 1878, depending on the validity of irregular marriages ; the Wicklow case, 1870, in which the widow of an heir presumptive failed to prove the birth of a son ; and the Aberdeen case, 1871, is a fine example of the evidence to prove identification.

There are indeed few vicissitudes of human life and character not illustrated in a complete collection of peerage evidence, and nowhere can the distinction between the admissibility of evidence and its value, if admissible, be better ascertained. There is perhaps no question more difficult to the layman or more puzzling to the lawyer than this. How often do genealogists, for example, urge the value of a copy of a lost original deed without being prepared to show that the original itself would be evidence if it existed ! How far hearsay evidence, and hearsay upon hearsay, is admissible ; whether evidence, verbal or documentary, is excluded by *lis mota* ; the value of coincidence ; how far tradition is affected by the



social status of deponents—are all questions respecting which opinions of the highest value may be found in Minutes of Evidence. The cases or pleadings are of course not evidence, but in them may be found valuable expositions of law, subtle distinctions, and arguments of great advocates, afterwards celebrated judges.

It has not appeared possible or desirable to state the subject in fuller detail. I have not noticed such cases as Annandale and Mar, the former beginning in 1796 and still pending, the latter not yet emancipated from the domain of personal quarrel. But I think I have written enough to indicate that there exists in peerage cases and evidence a mine of information, historical and personal, well worthy of being examined by all students of antiquity, law and romance.

W. A. LINDSAY.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE FITZGERALDS

‘**I**N the land of Hetruria there flourished once a mighty vine thither translated from the desolated plains of Troy. Florence claimed this beauteous plant her own ; and well might she glory in it, for “its branches stretched forth unto the sea, and its boughs unto the river.” From the banks of the Arno and the shores of the blue Tyrrhene Sea the branches of that great tree extended themselves to the far off land of Erin. That tree was the noble race of the Geraldines, who, under the shadow of Tuscan banners, penetrated regions whither Roman legions never dared to venture. . . . The history of this Florentine family has been my special study ; for it is intimately associated with that of my religion and country ; and fondly does she cherish the memory of the Geraldines.’ So wrote Father Dominic o’Daly to their eminences Antony and Francis Barberini, cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. To them he dedicated his history of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, written about the year 1655.<sup>1</sup>

With rapid hand the learned Dominican sketched in a few sentences the early history of the house :—

Ten years’ siege had destroyed the glorious city of Ilium, and cut off all its leaders, with the single exception of Æneas, who, being compelled to fly, assembled about him a trusty band of youths, who had outlived their country’s overthrow, foremost of whom in dignity and bravery was the founder of our Geraldines.<sup>2</sup> . . . Æneas soon afterwards divided the land of Italy amongst his followers, assigning to each his portion ; and in the distribution he bestowed on the great ancestor of our Geraldines that region of Hetruria where Florence now stands.

When did the Geraldines come to England ? When did they settle in Ireland ? Father o’Daly was perfectly clear in his answers to both questions ; they came to England with William at the Conquest ; and they went to Ireland under Henry II. He had moreover a dim conception of the true facts of the case. He said that William gave them ‘the castle and lordship of

<sup>1</sup> Translated and edited by C. P. Meehan (1878 ?).

<sup>2</sup> The writer omitted to mention that Æneas only fled when the house of his Irish neighbour O’Callaghan (Virgil, in his southern tongue, made it ‘Ucalegon’) was already in flames.

Windsor, of which they held possession till the days of Walter son of Ether (*sic*). This William had three children; from the first of these, William, sprung the Earls of Windsor; from the second, Robert, the Earls of Essex; but the third, Gerald of Windsor,' was the ancestor of the Geraldines. Walter FitzOther (not Ether) was, as we shall see, a real man, but the connection of the family with Windsor began instead of ending with this Walter.

Let us now turn to what may be termed the authorized version of the origin, that which was given in *The Earls of Kildare*<sup>1</sup> and steadily repeated in *Burke's Peerage*. Lord Kildare gave it thus:—

The FitzGerald, or Geraldines, are descended from 'Dominus Otho,' or Other, who, in 1057 (16 Edward the Confessor), was an honorary baron of England.<sup>2</sup> He is said to have been one of the family of Gherardini of Florence, and to have passed into Normandy, and thence into England.<sup>3</sup> He was so powerful at that period that it is probable that he was one of the foreigners who came to England with King Edward, and whom he favoured so much as to excite the jealousy of the native nobles. It is also remarkable that Otho's son Walter was treated as a fellow-countryman by the Normans after the Conquest. The Latin form of the name of his descendants, 'Geraldini,' being the same as that of Gherardini, also indicates that he was of that family.

I cannot undertake to say at what period or how the story of Other coming to England under Edward the Confessor arose; nor can I explain how 'Otho' replaced the well authenticated 'Other,' probably to give the name a more Italian appearance. But as to the Latin form 'Geraldini,' I can state that the name given by Geraldus Cambrensis to his own family was, on the contrary, 'Giraldidæ.'

Lord Kildare referred, we have seen, to the 'Gherardini MS.' without giving their contents; but to Mr. Meehan we are indebted for printing in an appendix to Father o' Daly's work the contents of these papers, 'to which,' as he observes, 'the general reader would find it difficult to get access.' It must be remembered that, according to the versions given above, the 'Geraldines' came to England at, if not before, the Conquest. In the 'Gherardini MS.' we have a very different

<sup>1</sup> By the Marquis of Kildare (afterwards fourth Duke of Leinster). I cite the fourth edition (1864). Compare the version in *Burke's Peerage* (1902).

<sup>2</sup> The authority given for this statement is 'Sir William Dugdale,' but Dugdale's *Baronage* is silent on the subject. With scrupulous accuracy he began the pedigree with 'Walter FitzOther' in Domesday Book (1086).

<sup>3</sup> The reference for this is 'Gherardini Papers, MS.'

story. Three brothers of that family, Thomas, Gerald and Maurice Gherardini, 'having left Florence on account of the civil dissensions there, accompanied the King of England to the Conquest of Ireland.' This, it will be seen, is wholly discrepant from the version now adopted by the family itself, and is indeed wholly incompatible with the known facts as to its origin. Moreover the 'Gherardini' story originated in Ireland, not in Florence. The story given above is traced to an Irish priest 'called Maurice, who was of the family of the Gherardini settled in that island,' and who, passing through Florence in 1413, claimed the local Gherardini as his kinsmen.<sup>1</sup> Those Florentine magnates appear to have been unaware of the connection; indeed even so late as 1440 the Republic's secretary, writing to James Earl of Desmond, used the expression 'if it be true' (*si vera est assertio*). But the fame of the great Hibernian house reached and flattered the Gherardini, and in answer to a letter of 'fraternal love,' Gerald, 'Chief in Ireland of the family of the Gherardini; Earl of Kildare; Viceroy of the most serene King of England,' wrote in 1507 'to all the family of the Gherardini, noble in fame and virtue, dwelling in Florence, our beloved brethren in Florence.' The earl informed them that his 'ancestors, after passing from France to England, and having remained there some time, arrived in this island of Ireland in 1140' (!).<sup>2</sup> He was anxious to know the deeds of their common ancestors, 'the origin of our house, and the names of your forefathers,' and he offered them 'hawks, falcons, horses, or dogs for the chase.'<sup>3</sup>

And now from Irish earls panting for Trojan ancestry we will turn to the sober history of a house both ancient and illustrious, a house which not only traces its descent from a Domesday tenant-in-chief, but can make the probably unique boast that, from that day to this, descendants of his have been always numbered among the barons of the realm.

In *The Earls of Kildare* we read that 'In 1078 Walter FitzOtho is mentioned in Domesday Book as being in possession of his father's estates.' To this statement, which is obstinately repeated in the pages of *Burke's Peerage*, I reply, as in *Peerage*

<sup>1</sup> In the same way, at a later time, did the Warwickshire Feildings discover that their name was derived from Rheinfelden, and that they were an exiled branch of the house of Hapsburg.

<sup>2</sup> This date, of course, is wholly erroneous.

<sup>3</sup> All these extracts are taken from Mr. Meehan's appendix.



*Studies* (p. 69), that the date of Domesday Book was 1086, not 1078; that Walter was the son of Other, not of Otho; and that Domesday does not state that his lands had been held by his father, but, on the contrary, proves them to have belonged to forfeited Englishmen. Before dealing with Walter however we will glance at a Domesday mystery.

Domesday affords us a tantalizing glimpse of a personage who has hitherto escaped notice, and whose name is more suggestive of those borne by the early FitzGeralds than any other in the Survey. Under Essex we read that Reimund' Girald' annexed some land held by a tenant on the great royal manor of Stanway (fo. 5) and did the same at Wormingford (fo. 66), his successor, Roger of Poitou, retaining both in his hands at the time of the Survey. This points to Reimund having held the manors of Bergholt by Stanway and Mount Bures by Wormingford, both of which are found in the hands of Roger of Poitou in 1086. Following up this clue we find that 'Raimunt Giralt' had preceded Roger of Poitou in possession at Stonham, Thorney and Coddendam, in the heart of Suffolk (fos. 350b, 351, 352); while under Norfolk a remarkable entry (fo. 139b) proves that Reimund' Girald' had preceded Roger in at least one of his manors (fo. 244b), Roger being styled his 'successor.' From this entry we learn that Reimund' departed (*discessit*), a vague term which leaves us in doubt as to the cause of his departure. He is the only Raymond in Domesday, and almost the only bearer of the name Girald, or Gerald, though Girard, Gerard, Girold, Gerold are not uncommon. But the special interest of his name lies in its form, for the peculiar combination of two Christian names, unconnected by 'filius,' distinctly points to the south of what is now France, where 'Raimundus Geraldi' and similar forms are commonly found soon afterwards in the districts towards the Mediterranean. I cannot however connect Gerald with the origin of the FitzGeralds.

In Domesday Walter FitzOther appears as a tenant-in-chief in a compact block of counties, Berkshire, Bucks, Middlesex, Surrey and Hants. He also held Winchfield in Hampshire under Chertsey Abbey. At first sight there is not much to connect him with Windsor or its forest, but investigation reveals the facts that at Windsor itself he held on the royal manor  $1\frac{3}{4}$  hides and some woodland; that at Kintbury, another Berkshire manor, he held half a hide 'which King Edward had given to his predecessor' out of the royal demesne for the

custody of the forest (*propter forestam custodiendam*); that of the great royal manor of Woking in Surrey Walter held three-quarters of a hide, which King Edward had similarly given 'out of the manor to a certain forester,' and that in or near Kingston-on-Thames he had given land to a man to whom he had 'entrusted the keeping of the king's brood mares' (*equas silvaticas*). These hints prepare us for the evidence to which we are about to come that he held 'a wood called Bagshot' at the time of the Survey (though Domesday does not say so), and that he and his heirs had the keeping of the great forest of Windsor. He was also, we shall find, castellan of Windsor, while in his private capacity as a tenant-in-chief he held a barony reckoned at fifteen or twenty knights' fees and owing fifteen knights as castle guard to Windsor.

Our next glimpse of him, after Domesday, is afforded by the Abingdon Cartulary, which records in a most interesting entry that Walter FitzOter, castellan of Windsor, restored to Abbot Faricius the woods of 'Virdele' and Bagshot, which he had held by consent of the abbot's predecessors, Æthelelm and Rainald. It adds that he made this restoration in the first place at Windsor Castle, and that he afterwards sent his wife Beatrice with his son William to Abingdon that they might confirm what he himself had done 'at home.'<sup>1</sup>

From this entry we learn that Walter was living after 1100, for Abbot Faritius ruled the house 1100-16. We also learn that his wife's name, which has never, I believe, been rightly given,<sup>2</sup> was given as Beatrice, and that his 'home' was at Windsor Castle. Lastly, we may see, I think, an allusion to the loss, for the time, of these woods in the Domesday entry of the abbey's manor of Winkfield ('Wenesfelle'), which mentions that '4 hides are in the king's forest' (fo. 59). In other words, Walter, I suspect, had added them to Windsor Forest as its custodian; and if he did this, as alleged, in the time of Abbot Æthelelm (who died in 1084), they would be

<sup>1</sup> *Walterus filius Oteri, castellanus de Wildesore, reddidit abbati Faritio duas silvas, vocatas Virdeleæt et Bacsceat, apud Winckefeld, nostram villam, quæ pertinerant ecclesiæ Abbendonix; sed eas per prædecessores hujus abbatis, videlicet Adeldelmum et Rainaldum hucusque tenuerat. Hanc redditionem primo apud castellum Wildesores abbati eidem reddidit; et deinde ad nativitatem Sancte Marie [8 Sept.] uxorem suam Beatricem, cum filio suo Willelmo, Abbendoniam transmisit, ut quod ipse domi fecerat ipsi Abbendonix confirmarent (ii. 132).*

<sup>2</sup> In *The Earls of Kildare* (p. 2) and in *Burke's Peerage* it is given as 'Gladys, daughter of Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn, Prince of North Wales.'

included in the king's forest at the time of the Domesday Survey (1086).

Walter was succeeded by his son William, of whom we have already heard as accompanying his mother to Abingdon. A very interesting writ, which seems to have been overlooked, shows him in charge of Windsor Forest at a date not later than 1116.<sup>1</sup> This writ notifies to William FitzWalter, Croc the huntsman, Richard the serjeant, and all the officers of the forest of Windsor, that the king has granted to Abingdon Abbey the tithe of all venison.<sup>2</sup> This tithe must be carefully distinguished from that of the ordinary issues of the forest; both these tithes were at this period commonly granted to religious houses, and, in the case of Windsor, the latter was given to the canons of Salisbury.<sup>3</sup> 'Croc the huntsman,' who in this writ is associated with William FitzWalter, was a personage of some note. He was a tenant-in-chief in Hampshire, where Crux (i.e. Croc's) Easton is named from him or his descendants,<sup>4</sup> and was also a holder of land in Wilts; and he witnessed a charter of William Rufus in favour of the abbey of Malmesbury and the foundation charter of Salisbury cathedral at Hastings in 1091.<sup>5</sup> The invaluable Pipe Roll of 1130 shows us William FitzWalter in charge of Windsor Forest in that and the preceding year. He farmed its profits from the Crown for a 'census' of £13 a year (the same figure is found under Henry II.), out of which 'the parker' was paid a penny

<sup>1</sup> For King Henry left England in 1116, and Eudo Dapifer was dead before his return.

<sup>2</sup> 'Henricus rex Anglie Willelmo filio Walteri et Croco venatori et Ricardo servienti et omnibus ministris de foresta Windesores salutem. Sciatis me concessisse Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Abbendona totam decimam de venatione quæ capta fuerit in foresta de Windesora. Testibus Roberto episcopo Lincolnæ et Eudone dapifero apud Bruhellam' (ibid. ii. 94). 'Bruhella' was Brill (Bucks).

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that the Bull of Pope Eugenius III. (1146) in favour of Salisbury confirms to the church of Salisbury 'decimas omnes de venatione regis in episcopatu Sarisberiensis, excepta venatione illa quæ capta erit cum stabilia in foresta de Windresores' (*Sarum Documents*, p. 12), this having been granted to Abingdon, as shown in the text. Compare *Monasticon Anglicanum* vi. 1295.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Victoria History of Hampshire*.

<sup>5</sup> See Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday*, i. 403, and *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi. 1295. The names of Bishop Osmund and Walter 'Hosatus,' with that of Croc himself, show that both charters are of the same date. Ellis wrongly assigns the Malmesbury one to the Conqueror. Croc himself gave ten pounds a year in rents and tithes to the church of Salisbury (ibid. p. 1296).



a day, while £1 6s. 0d. went in tithes as I have explained above.<sup>1</sup> We again meet with William FitzWalter in that charter of the Empress Maud to Geoffrey de Mandeville which I assign to 1142.<sup>2</sup> She grants therein to Geoffrey that William may have his hereditary constablership of Windsor Castle and lands.<sup>3</sup>

William was succeeded by a son of the same name, to whom King Henry II., by a charter granted at Windsor 1154-64 confirmed the lands of his father. This charter, which proves the pedigree, is known to me only from Harleian Roll, P. 8, a pedigree of the Windsor family and of their Irish kinsmen, the FitzGerals, which although compiled at a bad time (1582) is of quite exceptional value. The charter of which I speak confirms to William of Windsor all the land of his father, William Fitz Walter, and of his grandfather, Walter FitzOther.<sup>4</sup> This William is constantly mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. as among those who supervised building operations at Windsor Castle. I believe that I have discovered his wife, of whom the name has not been known, in that Christina de Wiham who was a tenant by knight-service on the Montfichet fief in 1166.<sup>5</sup> The argument is this. The domesday lord of the fief, Robert Gernon, had an under-tenant, Ilger, who held of him two manors in Essex, Wormingford and Maplestead. Walter de Windsor is subsequently found giving, in conjunction with his mother Christina, the church of Wormingford to Wix Priory<sup>6</sup> and bestowing on St. Paul's three of his neifs at (evidently) Maplestead.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, in 1187 he is found holding a fee and a half of Richard de

<sup>1</sup> *Great Roll of the Pipe*, 31 Hen. I. p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> 'quod Willelmus filius Walteri et hæredes sui habeant custodiam castelli de Windesh[ores] et omnia sua tenementa sicut ipse Willelmus et antecessores sui eam habuerunt de rege Henrico patre meo et antecessoribus ipsius' (ibid. p. 169).

<sup>4</sup> 'Sciatis me reddidisse et concessisse Willelmo de Windesoriis totam terram que fuit Willelmi filii Walteri patris sui et Walteri filii Otheri avi sui. . . . Testibus Willelmo fratre meo et comite Reginaldo et Jocelino de Baillil apud Windesorias.' As the pedigree gives with this charter transcripts of the extracts from the Empress Maud's charter, of the charter of Henry II. in favour of his cousin William FitzRobert FitzWalter, and of the fine of 9 Ric. I., all of which are quite accurate, its authority is excellent.

<sup>5</sup> *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 350.

<sup>6</sup> See Morant's *History of Essex*, ii. 232, 233, and the *Monasticon* (under Wix), where the charter is printed.

<sup>7</sup> *9th Report Historical MSS.* App. i. p. 34.



Montfichet.<sup>1</sup> The descent of these manors would thus be accounted for, Walter being the eldest son of William de Windsor by, as I suggest, Christina de Wiham.

Walter and his younger brother William divided the Windsor barony into two moieties in 1198.<sup>2</sup> Walter was the ancestor, through a daughter, of the Hodengs; from William, in whose share Stanwell was included, descended Andrew Windsor, created Lord Windsor of Stanwell by Henry VIII., from whom descends in the female line the present Lord Windsor.

In the second portion of this paper I propose to deal with the younger sons of Walter FitzOther, from one of whom, Gerald de Windsor, all the FitzGerald trace their descent. It will be convenient however to dispose in the present portion of one whose existence, I believe, is known to us only from a writ in the Abingdon Cartulary. In this writ Henry I. addresses Walter son of Walter de Windsor and informs him that he has granted to Farice Abbot of Abingdon (1100-16) the land and house at Windsor which had been held by Albert.<sup>3</sup> It is in the name of Albert that is found the interest of this writ. For one cannot doubt that this was the 'Albert the clerk' who is mentioned in Domesday, in conjunction with Walter FitzOther, as holding land at Windsor under the Crown (fo. 56b) and the 'Albert' who is entered as holding in chief land at Dedworth (fo. 63) adjacent to Clewer and Windsor. I have dealt elsewhere with the holdings of this Albert of Lotharingia, a 'clerk,' 'priest' or 'chaplain' in favour with Edward and with William.<sup>4</sup> As to 'Walter the son of Walter,' I cannot account for his being found apparently in charge of Windsor, as he was a younger son. It is of course just possible that he represents an error of the scribe for 'William the son of Walter,' the heir of the house.

<sup>1</sup> 'de feodo quod tenet de Ricardo de Monte Fichet' (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 66).

<sup>2</sup> See the fine in Feet of Fines 9 Ric. I. (Pipe Roll Society), p. 110. It is of much importance for topographical history and corrects the account given in Dugdale.

<sup>3</sup> 'Henricus rex Angliæ Waltero filio Walteri de Windresore salutem. Sciatis quod concedo Faritio abbati et ecclesiæ Abbendonix terram illam et domum de Windresores, quæ fuit Alberti, sicut Rainerius eam sibi concessit. Teste Rogero Bigod apud Londoniam' (ii. 132).

<sup>4</sup> *The Commune of London and other studies*, pp. 36-8.

(To be continued)

## THE KING'S CORONATION ORNAMENTS

## I

THE Coronation Service of the Kings of England has from the first consisted of two essential ceremonies: the anointing or unction, and the delivery of the regalia or royal ornaments. Owing to the conservatism which is so strikingly exemplified in the coronation ceremonies these two essentials have always been maintained, and after a continuous use of at least a thousand years the King of England is to this day duly consecrated to his high office by his solemn anointing, and invested with the crown, the sceptre of kingly power, and the rod of virtue and equity.

The ornaments which are put upon the king at his coronation have likewise from a very early date been of a peculiar character, closely resembling those anciently put upon a bishop at the time of his consecration. Thus the bishop was vested in an amice, albe, girdle, stole, tunic, dalmatic, fanon and chasuble; a mitre was put on his head, gloves on his hands, and buskins and sandals upon his feet; a ring was placed upon his finger, and a crosier put into his hands. Upon the king at his consecration were put the coif, which some think may correspond to the bishop's amice, the buskins and sandals, the *colobium sindonis* or albe, the tunic and dalmatic, a belt or girdle, and in later days a stole, and lastly the cope or mantle called the *pallium regale*; he was also crowned, a ring put upon his finger, and a sceptre and rod delivered into his hands. The coronation order has also a striking resemblance to the order for the consecration of a bishop.<sup>1</sup> The reason for all this is that, as the learned canonist William Lyndwode<sup>2</sup> says in his *Provinciale*, completed in 1433, an anointed king is no mere lay person, but a clerk as well according to some,<sup>3</sup> and it was held as part of the common law of England in the time of

<sup>1</sup> See Leopold G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (Westminster, 1901), xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of St. David's, 1442-46.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quod rex unctus non sit mere persona laica sed mixta secundum quosdun.' W. Lyndwode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. Ut clericalis, etc. (London, 1505), f. lxxijb.

Edward III. that the king who had been anointed with holy oil was indued with spiritual jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

So much has been written from time to time on the coronation office, and everything directly and indirectly connected with it, that it is hard to find any new point for investigation or discussion. One such seems however to be the history of the royal ornaments put upon the king at his coronation, and it is the object of the present paper to trace this as far as possible, with special reference to the Norman and Plantagenet kings.

The oldest of the coronation orders,<sup>2</sup> contained in a pontifical of the ninth or tenth century, probably of northern English use, now preserved at Rouen, makes no mention of the robes worn by or put upon the king, and passes directly from the anointing to the delivery of the sceptre (*sceptrum*), staff (*baculum*), and crown (*galeum*).

We learn however from a much later source, an inventory of the regalia compiled by Sporley,<sup>3</sup> a monk of Westminster Abbey, in the middle of the fifteenth century, what the royal robes may have been, for Sporley records that St. Edward the King and Confessor, for the memory of posterity and for the dignity of the royal coronation, had caused to be preserved in the abbey church all the royal ornaments wherewith he himself was crowned. Besides the sceptre, rod, and crown, these included a tunic (*tunica*), a supertunic (*supertunica*), armil (*armilla*), girdle (*zona*), and embroidered mantle (*paleum brudatum*), together with a pair of buskins (*par caligarum*) and a pair of gloves (*par cerotecarum*).

The second of the English orders, one of the eleventh century, which may have been used at the coronations of Harold and William the Conqueror, like the oldest order is silent as to the vestments, though the regalia are augmented by the ring and sword.

The representation of the crowning of Harold in the Bayeux Tapestry<sup>4</sup> shows him as wearing a yellow tunic, a green

<sup>1</sup> For this and fuller information on the point see J. Wickham Legg, *The Coronation of the Queen* (Church Historical Society, xlii.), 6.

<sup>2</sup> For much valuable information on these and other matters connected with the subject the student is referred to Mr. Leopold Legg's *English Coronation Records*.

<sup>3</sup> L. G. W. Legg, *op. cit.* 191.

<sup>4</sup> See *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi. pl. vii.



dalmatic and a purple-red mantle, with the crown on his head and in his hands the rod and the sceptre with the cross.<sup>1</sup> An-

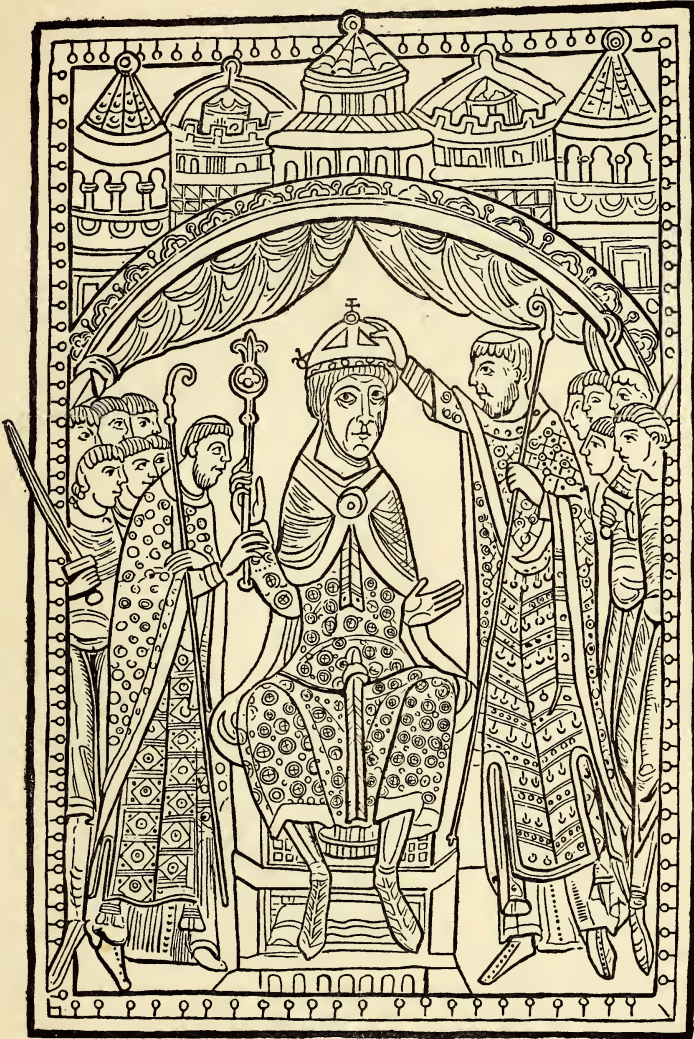


FIG. I. CORONATION OF A KING, *temp.* WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR,  
FROM A MS. BELONGING TO CAPTAIN HOLFORD.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From quite early times the sceptre with the cross has often taken the form, as in this case, of a globe or orb with the cross issuing from it.

<sup>2</sup> This illustration and those forming figs. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 have been kindly lent by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., from Dr. S. R. Gardiner's *Student's History of England*.



other picture, nearly contemporary with the Bayeux Tapestry, of the crowning of St. Edmund, in a MS. belonging to Captain Holford, C.V.O., C.I.E., shows the king similarly vested in an embroidered dalmatic with tight sleeves and narrow girdle and over it a mantle ; on his feet are the buskins (fig. 1).

The first of the coronation orders to mention any vestments is that contained in a twelfth century English pontifical now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> In this, after the anointing and the girding with the sword, the king is invested with (*a*) the *armille* or bracelets and (*b*) the *pallium* or mantle, before the imposition of the crown and delivery of the ring, sceptre, and rod. The bracelets are described as typical of sincerity and wisdom, and a token of God's embracing ; and the mantle or pall as formed with four corners to let the king understand that the four corners of the world are subject to the power of God, and that no man can reign happily on earth except he has received his authority from heaven.

For pictorial representations of the royal vestures at this period there can be no better authority, except as to minute details, than the great seals of the kings themselves.

Both the seals of the Conqueror show him seated, vested in a long tunic or dalmatic reaching nearly to the ankles and with tight sleeves, and over it a mantle fastened on the right shoulder. He of course is crowned and carries the sword and the sceptre with the cross. The seal of William Rufus shows him as wearing two vestments, one with long and tight sleeves, the other with shorter and wider sleeves, and the mantle, but this is fastened in front instead of on the shoulder. Henry I. in his first seal is robed like his brother, but in his other seals the mantle is again fastened on the shoulder. In his third and fourth seals and in the seals of Stephen and Henry II. the under vestment is plain with long tight sleeves, but the dalmatic is striped or banded transversely, and is slit up the front and thrown back on either side on the seat upon which the king sits. In all these examples the mantle continues to be worn fastened on the shoulder.

The evidence of the seals is borne out in an interesting way by the life-sized monumental effigy of Henry II. at Fontevraud<sup>2</sup> (fig. 2). This represents him in (i.) a long vest-

<sup>1</sup> See L. G. W. Legg, *op. cit.* 30.

<sup>2</sup> C. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817). The colours are given on Stothard's authority.

ment reaching to the feet with tight sleeves,<sup>1</sup> perhaps the *colobium sindonis* of later times ; (ii.) a similar vestment, the tunic, slightly shorter than the first, also with tight sleeves ; and (iii.) the dalmatic. This again is shorter than the tunic and has wider sleeves, and is coloured crimson and powdered with gold flowers ; it has also a brooch at the neck. Over all is an ample purple mantle fastened with a brooch on the right shoulder. The king has green buskins with golden spurs on his feet, jewelled gloves on his hands and his crown on his head. In the right hand was once a short sceptre and by his left side lies his sword.

Henry died at Chinon on 6th July, 1189, and Matthew Paris describes how on the morrow, while he was being carried to burial, he lay with his face uncovered, clothed in royal apparel, having a golden crown on his head and gloves on his hands, foot-gear woven with gold and spurs on his feet, a great ring on his finger, and in his hand the sceptre, and girded with a sword ; and in this array he was buried.<sup>2</sup>

The royal vestments of Richard I. are amply illustrated, first by an exceptionally full account of his crowning, secondly by his great seals, and thirdly by his monumental effigy at Fontevraud (fig. 4).

Of the account of the crowning of Richard in 1189 several versions exist, the fullest being probably that of Roger of Howden.<sup>3</sup> In the proces-



FIG. 2. EFFIGY OF  
HENRY II. AT  
FONTEVRAUD.

<sup>1</sup> The sleeves may belong to the king's shirt, and not to the *colobium sindonis*, which was more likely without sleeves, as its name implies.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (Roll Series, 44), i. 465.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden* (Roll Series, 51), iii. 9-11.



sion to the church the king's coif (*pilleum regium*) was carried by Godfrey de Lucy, and six earls and barons bore on their shoulders a very large board upon which were put the royal ensigns and vestments. For the anointing the king was stripped to his shirt and breeches, the former being torn apart at the shoulders for the purpose, and the buskins were put on his feet. After the anointing a linen cloth and the coif were put upon his head. Then they clothed him with the royal vestments: first, the tunic; then the dalmatic; and after the delivery of the sword and spurs, with the mantle (*mantea*). Lastly the king was crowned and the sceptre and rod were put in his hands. The *colobium sindonis* is not mentioned.

The king's great seals show him enthroned, wearing his crown and holding the sword and sceptre. He is clad in (i.) a long vestment, probably the tunic, reaching to the feet and with tight sleeves to the wrists, over which is (ii.) the dalmatic, which has wide sleeves to the middle of the forearm. Upon his shoulders is (iii.) the mantle; this is secured by a band across the chest and brought round to the front and thrown over the knees (fig. 3).

The king's effigy at Fontevraud, like that of Henry II., represents him as wearing three vestments under the mantle; the lowest is probably the *colobium sindonis*, but the others are clearly from their decoration the tunic and dalmatic, the former being white, the latter red with wide sleeves and girded, and with a brooch at the neck. The mantle is blue with a gold border, and fastened by a brooch in front; it was evidently four square, as described in the coronation order. The king also wears his crown, together with the gloves, buskins, and spurs, and in his right hand was a sceptre<sup>1</sup> (fig. 4).

The effigy which was placed over the king's heart at Rouen is of different character, and shows him crowned and wearing a long girded tunic or dalmatic with a brooch at the throat and over all a mantle.<sup>2</sup>

The difference may be accounted for by the fact that the Fontevraud effigy covered the king's body, concerning which the *Annals of Winchester* say:

Scitu quidem dignum est quod dictus rex sepultus est cum eadem corona et ceteris insignibus regalibus quibus præcedenti quinto anno coronatus et infulatus fuerat apud Wintoniam.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the engraving in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. <sup>2</sup> See *Archæologia*, xxix. pl. xxi. p. 208. <sup>3</sup> *Annals of Winchester* (Rolls Series, 36), ii. 71.

The ceremony at Winchester in 1194<sup>1</sup> varied somewhat from the crowning at Westminster in 1189 so graphically described by Roger of Howden,<sup>2</sup> but the royal vestments worn by the king were probably the same or new ones of the same pattern and character.

With the reign of John begins the first of a series of official documents containing lists and descriptions of the regalia, and these are particularly full as to the vestments, etc. worn by John himself. In the fifth year of his reign the king, by letters patent dated 11th October, 1203, acknowledges to have received at Caen, from John bishop of Norwich,

regalia nostra . scilicet . magnam coronam nostram .  
gladium deauratum . tunicam . pallium . dalmaticam .  
baudream . sandalia . cirotecas . frettas et calcaria.<sup>3</sup>

The baldness of this list, which is otherwise complete enough, is amply atoned for by another receipt issued at Reading, also by letters patent, the following year, under date 18th December, 1204. In this the ornaments are not only described in some detail, but they display a most astonishing richness of decoration.

The list is headed by the gold crown made at London. Then follow the mantle, of red samite fretted or bordered with sapphires, cameos and pearls, with a brooch sewn on in front; a dalmatic of the same stuff, bordered with orfrees and jewels; a tunic of white diaper;<sup>4</sup> a silken cloth, four-square, for the king's seat; sandals and buskins of the same red samite; bands of orfrey work; a belt of the same samite studded



FIG. 4. EFFIGY OF  
RICHARD I. AT  
FONTEVRAUD.

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden* (Rolls Series, 51), iii. 247.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 9-11.

<sup>3</sup> Patent Roll, 5 John, m. 6 (ed. Hardy, 1835, i. pt. i. 35).

<sup>4</sup> The red dalmatic and white tunic correspond in colour with those shown on the effigy of Henry II.



with cameos and other precious stones ; white gloves jewelled with a sapphire and an amethyst ; and the sword which was made for the king's coronation with a scabbard of orfrey work. The text is sufficiently interesting to quote in full :

Rex, etc. omnibus, etc. Sciatis quod die Lune proxima ante Natale Domini anno regni nostri sexto apud Rading. per manum fratris Alani preceptoris Novi Templi London et fratris Rogeri elemosinarii recepimus coronam nostram auream factam apud London. Mantellum de samitto vermeilleo frettatum cum saphiris et kathmathis et perulis cum uno firmaculo ante insuto. Dalmaticam de eodem samitto urlatam de orfreis et cum lapidibus. Tunicam de diaspro albo. Unum pannum serricum quadratum ad sedem regiam. Sandalia et sotulares de predicto samitto. Bondatos de orfreis. Baldredum de eodem samitto cum kathmathis et aliis lapidibus. et cyrotecas albas cum uno saphiro et una amatista. et gladium qui factus fuit ad coronationem nostram cum scabberga de orfreis, etc. etc. [*The remaining items, consisting of jewelled belts, brooches and staves, did not form part of the regalia.*] Et imo volumus quod Magister Templi et fratres Templi de omnibus suprascriptis quieti sint. et in hujus rei testimonium, etc. Teste G. filio Petri Comite Essexiæ apud Rading. xvij die Decembris.<sup>1</sup>

Three years later another receipt for the regalia is entered on the patent roll, dated at Clarendon on 9th December, 1207. It is both interesting and curious as furnishing us with the description of a totally different set of ornaments, headed by a great crown which came from Germany. The mantle, which appears under its future name of *pallium regale*, was of purple, with a gold clasp and brooch ; and the tunic and sandals were of the same colour. The dalmatic was of a deeper hue, black-purple. The belt is described as of orfrey work with stones, and the buskins and *fretta* were of the like stuff. The gloves are only mentioned by name, and the silk cloth borne over the king at his coronation is included instead of the cloth for his seat. Two swords are specified : one called Tristram's, the other belonging to the regalia ; and besides the crown, the king received his great sceptre, the golden rod with the dove, and the golden spurs. The gold cup and cross mentioned did not belong to the regalia. For comparison with the previous list the full text is appended :

Rex omnibus, etc. Sciatis quod recepimus Sabbato proximo post festum Sancti Nicolai apud Clarendon. anno regni nostri nono per manus Hugonis de Ropell. et Radulfi de Riparia et Johannis Ruffi hominum Roberti de Ropell. magnam coronam que venit de Alemannia et j. tunicam de purpura et sandalia de eodem panno et balteum de orfrasio cum lapidibus. unum par sotularium et frettas de orfrasio. et j. par cirothecarum. et dalmaticum

<sup>1</sup> Patent Roll 6 John, m. 6 *in dorso* (ed. Hardy, 1835, i. pt. i. 54).



FIG. 3.

FIRST GREAT SEAL OF RICHARD I, IN USE 1189 TO C 1197.



de nigra purpura. et pallium regale de purpura cum morsu et brocha auri et pannum sericum ad ferendum supra Regem in coronacione sua. et magnum ceptrum ejusdem regalis. virgam auream cum columba in summo. et ij. enses. scilicet ensem Tristrami. et alium ensem de eodem regali et calcaria aurea de eodem regali. Cupam auri ponderis viij<sup>o</sup>. marcarum et duarum unciarum. et unam crucem auri ponderis trium marcarum et vij. unciarum et dimid. Et ut predicti Robertus de Ropell. et homines sui inde sint quieti has litteras nostras patentes eis fecimus. Teste domino P. Wintoniensis Episcopo apud Clarendon. ix<sup>o</sup>. die Decembris per eundem.<sup>1</sup>

From the evidence of a further list which has been preserved it is clear that John had two sets of regalia : a simpler one apparently for use on ordinary days of state ; the other and richer being that provided for his coronation, and worn only on special occasions.

This further list is dated at Canfield on 29th March, 1215-6, and includes most of the richer ornaments enumerated in 1204, but with a few additional details. Thus we learn that the crown was jewelled and surmounted by a cross and seven flowers or fleurons. The dalmatic is by mistake called *tunica*, while the tunic proper, of white diaper as before, is now said to be banded with orfreys.<sup>2</sup> The red samite mantle (*pallium regale*) was bordered and crossed with orfrey work set with great stones both divers and precious, and had two brooches to fasten it with. The text of the patent is as follows :

*De regali recepto.* Rex omnibus, etc. Sciatis quod recepimus per manum Walerandi Teutonici et Hugonis de Bathonia clerici nostri apud Berchamstede die Annunciacionis Beate Marie anno, etc. de fratre Henrico de Arundell. tunc temporis preceptore fratrum hospitalis Jerusalem Anglie unam virgam de auro cum cruce scilicet ceptrum. unam zonam rubeam cum petris preciosis quam pertinet ad regale. . . . Item unam coronam cum petris preciosis cum una cruce et vij. floribus. Tunicam [i.e. dalmaticam] regalem de rubeo samito cum orfrasiis cum petris preciosis in urluris. Unum par cirotecarum cum petris et aliud par cum floribus de auro. Unam tunicam albam de diaspro bendatam de orfrasiis. Unum [pallium] regale de rubeo samito urlatum et cruce signatum undique de orfrasiis cum magnis petris et diversis et preciosis cum duobus brochis ad atachandum ipsum pallium. Unum par caligarum de samito cum orfrasiis et duo paria sotularium de samito. et undecim paria bacinorum pondere sexaginta duarum marcarum et decem et septem unciarum. Et in hujus etc. ei inde fieri fecimus. Teste me ipso apud Caneveles. xxix. die Marcii anno eodem.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Patent Roll 9 John, m. 4. (ed. Hardy, 1835, i. pt. i. 77).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the banded dalmatic on the seals of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II.

<sup>3</sup> Patent Roll 17 John, m. 5 (ed. Hardy, 1835, i. pt. i. 173). On m. 4 of the same roll is entered another patent acknowledging receipt of the same ornaments at Berkhamstead on Palm Sunday, Anno 17<sup>o</sup>.



John's great seal shows him crowned and seated on a throne, holding the sword and the sceptre with the cross. The vestments are not clearly shown, but the girded dalmatic and the



FIG. 5. EFFIGY OF KING JOHN  
AT WORCESTER.

long and tight sleeves of an under vestment are plain enough, and the mantle is worn in the same way as by his brother Richard, hanging from the shoulders and brought round over the knees.

The monumental effigy of John in the cathedral church of Worcester (fig. 5), although of Purbeck marble, was originally richly painted and gilded.<sup>1</sup> It represented the king in a golden tunic, a girded red dalmatic slit up the sides, and a golden mantle lined with green hanging from his shoulders and thrown over his right arm. He has his crown of fleurons on his head, and gloves on his hands, of which the right held a sceptre and in the left is a naked sword. The feet were covered with red buskins and black sandals, over which were the golden spurs. The neck-band and cuffs of the dalmatic, together with the crown, gloves, belt, and sword, and the mitres and vestments of the censing bishops who support the king's head, have sockets for imitations in paste or glass

of the cameos and jewels with which the originals were

<sup>1</sup> See the engraving and description in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.

decorated. All traces of the old colouring were concealed in 1873 beneath a thick coat of gold leaf applied to the effigy by H.M. Office of Works to try and make it resemble the gilt bronze of some of the Westminster monuments ; the bruised remains of the king's crown were at the same time covered with a brass ring.

In July, 1797, during preparations for a proposed removal of John's tomb, the king's remains were disclosed. The appearance of the vestments is thus described in an account published at the time :<sup>1</sup>

The dress in which the body of the king was found appears also to have been similar to that in which his figure is represented on the tomb, excepting the gloves on his hands and the crown on its head, which on the skull in the coffin was found to be the celebrated monk's cowl, in which he is recorded to be buried, as a passport through the regions of purgatory. This sacred envelope appeared to have fitted the head very closely, and had been tied or buckled under the chin by straps, parts of which remained. The body was covered by a robe reaching from the neck nearly to the feet ; it had some of its embroidery still remaining near the right knee. It was apparently of crimson damask, and of strong texture : its colour however was so totally discharged from the effect of time, that it is but conjecturally it can be said to have been of any, but what has now pervaded the whole object ; namely, a dusky brown. The cuff of the left arm which had been laid on the breast remained. In that hand a sword, in a leather scabbard, had been placed as on the tomb, parts of which much decayed, were found at intervals down the left side of the body, and to the feet, as were also parts of the scabbard, but in a much more perfect state than those of the sword. The legs had on a sort of ornamented covering which was tied round at the ankles, and extended over the feet, where the toes were visible through its decayed parts, the string about the left ankle still remained. The upper part of those coverings could not be traced, and it is undecided whether they should be termed boots, or whether they were a part of the under dress similar to the modern pantaloons. It would have been fortunate had it been determined whether they were of leather, or of what sort of drapery.

As will be seen below, the royal vestments enumerated in the lists of 1204 and 1215-6 were in existence in 1220, four years after John's death, but those in which the king was buried may well have formed part of the plainer set of the 1207 list, and the description of the remains found is quite compatible with such a suggestion. The contents of the coffin seem to have been only superficially examined, owing to the

<sup>1</sup> Valentine Green, *An Account of the Discovery of the Body of King John in the Cathedral Church of Worcester, July 17th, 1797* (London and Worcester, 1797), 4, 5.



crowds of people who flocked in to see it, and it is possible that several things were overlooked.

The regalia of Henry III. are known to us from an inventory or list of those which were provided for his second coronation at Westminster on Whitsunday (16th June), 1220. They are apparently the same as those referred to in a royal mandate, dated 7th May previously, bidding Peter de Mauley without let or hindrance to come to London, 'so that he may be there this instant vigil of Pentecost, and that he take with him Richard the king's brother,<sup>1</sup> and bring with him the king's regalia (*regale domini Regis*) which are in his custody at Corfe.'<sup>2</sup> They include the golden crown, spurs, and sceptre, a silver-gilt rod,<sup>3</sup> and a golden ring with a ruby. The vestments are a tunic and dalmatic of red samite with a brooch (*monile*) and stones in the orfrey; a belt harnessed with gold and jewelled; a mantle of red samite jewelled; a pair of new sandals and buskins of red samite with an orfrey, and two borders of orfrey work to bind (?) the king's sandals. There are also two golden brooches for the mantle and dalmatic,<sup>4</sup> one set with a sapphire, the other with a pearl. The list also includes a pair of old sandals of red samite with an orfrey, and a pair of old buskins embroidered with gold, 'which were King John's'; also a tunic of white diaper, a dalmatic of red samite, an old pall of red samite and two pairs of gloves, which are no doubt those enumerated in the earliest and latest lists of John's regalia.

Two swords covered with red samite and bordered with orfrey work may also be those mentioned in John's letters patent of 1207.

Three other swords 'which were at Corfe, covered with leather,' were probably brought up by mistake. They can hardly be the swords borne at the coronation.

In the original list the golden spurs are struck out and interlined 'because they are in issue by writ.' The text of the writ, which is dated 19th November, 1220, follows the inventory, and empowers the treasurer to hand over to the Prior

<sup>1</sup> Then a boy of eleven. He was afterwards created Earl of Cornwall and elected King of the Romans.

<sup>2</sup> Close Roll 4 Henry III. m. 11 (ed. T. D. Hardy, 1833, i. 417).

<sup>3</sup> King John's is described in 1207 as being of gold.

<sup>4</sup> The effigies of Henry II. and Richard I., as well as that of the latter placed over his heart at Rouen, have the dalmatic fastened with a brooch at the neck.

of Westminster 'our golden spurs that were made for our use at our first coronation at Westminster which we have given for the new work of the chapel of the Blessed Mary at Westminster.'<sup>1</sup>

The list of the regalia is as follows :

Hec sunt Regalia que Eustachius de Faucunberg Thesaurarius et Camerarius receperit per Episcopum Winton. apud Westmonasterium Die Jovis proxima post festum Sancti Dunstani.

Corona aurea Integra diversis lapidibus ornata. [Calcaria aurea *struck out and* 'quia in exitu per Breve' *written in*] Virga argentea et deaurata. Ceptrum aureum. Tunica cum dalmatica de Rubeo Samit. cum uno monili et lapidibus in aurifragio. Baltheus cum apparatu aureo. cum lapidibus. Pallium de Rubeo Samit. cum lapidibus. Anulus aureus cum rubeyo. Due Broche auree ad pallium. et Dalmaticam. quarum in una est Saphira et in alia Perla. Unum par sandalium novorum et Sotularium de Rubeo Samit cum aurifragiis. Duo Freselli de aurifragio ad fratandam sandalia Regis.

Item unum par veterum Sandalium de Rubeo Samit. Cum aurifragio cum uno pari veterum sotularium Brodatorum auro que fuerunt Regis Johannis. Tunica de Diaspre blanche. Cum dalmatica de Rubeo Samit. vetus pallium de Rubio Samit. Tres gladii qui fuerunt apud Corfe cooperti coreo. Duo gladii cooperti de Rubeo Samit. frettati aurifragio. Duo paria cirotecarum.

Henricus dei gracia, etc. Liberate de Thesauro nostro Priori Westmonasterii calcarea nostra aurea que facta fuerunt<sup>2</sup> ad opus nostrum ad primam Coronacionem nostram apud Westmonasterium que dedimus ad opus novum Capelle Beate Marie de Westmonasterio. Teste H. de Burgo Justiciario nostro apud Westmonasterium xix die Novembris anno regni nostri v<sup>o</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

The list just quoted is dated on Thursday after the feast of St. Dunstan, which in 1220 fell on a Sunday. The actual date must therefore be 22nd May, which fits in well between the writ of 7th May to Peter de Mauley to bring the regalia from Corfe and the king's coronation on 16th June following. During the interval some of the ornaments were evidently set in order, for a writ dated 5th October directs the treasurer to pay to 'William our tailor' 3*l*s. 8*d*. 'quos posuit in reparacione corone nostre et regalis nostri contra coronacionem nostram

<sup>1</sup> The foundation of the new Lady Chapel was laid on the vigil of Pentecost, the day before the king's coronation.

<sup>2</sup> By writ dated 2nd July, 1220, 10 marks were directed to be paid to Otho fitzWilliam 'pro calcaribus nostris que habuimus ad coronacionem nostram apud Westmonasterium.' Close Roll 4 Henry III. m. 8 (ed. Hardy, 1833, i. 422).

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, Exchequer of Receipt, Pells Receipt Roll No. 2<sup>a</sup>, m. 1. The writ is also entered on the Close Roll 5 Henry III. m. 20 (ed. Hardy, 1833, i. 440).



apud Westmonasterium in festo Pentecostes proximo preterito anno regni nostri quarto.<sup>1</sup>

The three seals of Henry III. all show him crowned and seated on a throne. In the first seal, in use from 1219-59, the king wears a tunic with long tight sleeves, a girded dalmatic with shorter and wider sleeves, and the mantle, which is held by a cord or band across the chest and suspended from his shoulders, whence it is brought forward from the right side over his knees. In his hands the king holds a drawn sword and the sceptre with the cross. In the second seal, as used from 1259-72, the throne is more ornate, and the king holds the rod with the dove instead of the sword in his right hand. He is robed as before, but the mantle is fastened upon the right shoulder by a clasp and thrown to one side. On the small third seal, which was used by the king himself *circa* 1263-4, the mantle is secured in front of the breast by a large quatrefoil brooch, and covers the arms down to the elbows; it is then brought round across the knees. The cuff of the dalmatic is distinctly shown as jewelled. Owing to the small scale of the seals it is difficult to make out the *colobium sindonis*, if indeed it is shown at all.



FIG. 6. EFFIGY OF HENRY III. AT WESTMINSTER.

The dignified bronze effigy of Henry at Westminster (fig. 6) represents him in a dalmatic reaching to the feet so as to completely hide the tunic beneath, which is shown only by its cuffs at the wrists. The mantle is fastened on the right shoulder, as in the second

<sup>1</sup> Close Roll 4 Henry III. m. 2 (ed. Hardy, i. 431).

seal, and is disposed over the body. The buskins are covered with a fretty pattern with leopards between. The sceptres are lost, as are all the applied ornaments on the crown, cuffs and edges of the vestments. As the effigy was not made until 1289 it may be taken to represent also the royal ornaments then in use.

Of the coronation robes of Edward I. I have not yet found any official record, but a description of some of the actual ornaments is contained in Sir Joseph Ayloff's account of the opening of the king's tomb at Westminster on 2nd May, 1774, by the Society of Antiquaries :<sup>1</sup>

On lifting up the lid [of the marble coffin], the royal corpse was found wrapped up within a large square mantle, of strong, coarse, and thick linen cloth, diaper'd, of a dull, pale, yellowish brown colour, and waxed on its under side. The head and face were entirely covered with a *sudarium*, or face-cloth, of crimson sarcenet, the substance whereof was so much perished, as to have a cobweb-like feel, and the appearance of fine lint. . . . When the folds of the external wrapper were thrown back, and the *sudarium* removed, the corpse was discovered richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty, and almost intire, notwithstanding the length of time that it had been entombed. Its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material. The face, which had a similar covering closely fitted thereto, retained its exact form, although part of the flesh appeared to be somewhat wasted

Next above the before-mentioned cerecloth was a dalmatic, or tunic, of red silk damask ; upon which lay a stole of thick white tissue, about three inches in breadth, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards, nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other. On this stole were placed, at about the distance of six inches from each other, quatrefoils, of philligree-work, in metal gilt with gold, elegantly chased in figure, and ornamented with five pieces of beautiful transparent glass, or paste, some cut, and others rough, set in raised sockets. The largest of these pieces is in the centre of each quatrefoil ; and each of the other four is fixed near to the angle : so that all of them together form the figure of a quincunx. These false stones differ in colour. Some are ruby ; others a deep amethyst : some again are sapphire ; others white ; and some a sky-blue.

The intervals between the quatrefoils on the stole are powdered with an immense quantity of very small white beads, resembling pearls, drilled, and tacked down very near each other, so as to compose an embroidery of most elegant form, and not much unlike that which is commonly called, The True-lover's Knot. These beads, or pearls, are all of the same size, and equal to that of the largest pin's head. They are of a shining, silver-white hue ; but not so pellucid as necklace-beads and mock-pearls usually are.

Over these habits is the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson sattin, fastened

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, iii. 376-413.



on the left shoulder with a magnificent *fibula* of metal gilt with gold, and composed of two joints pinned together by a moveable *acus*, and resembling a cross garnet hinge. This *fibula* is four inches in length, richly chased, and ornamented with four pieces of red, and four of blue transparent paste, similar to those on the quatrefoils, and twenty-two beads or mock-pearls. Each of these pastes and mock-pearls is set in a raised and chased socket. The head of the *acus* is formed by a long piece of uncut transparent blue paste, shaped like an acorn, and fixed in a chased socket. The lower joint of this *fibula* appears to be connected with the stole, as well as with the chlamys; so that the upper part of each of the lappets or straps of the stole, being thereby brought nearly into contact with the edge of the royal mantle, those straps form, in appearance, a guard or border thereto.

The corpse, from the waist downward, is covered with a large piece of rich figured cloth of gold, which lies loose over the lower part of the tunic, thighs, legs, and feet, and is tucked down behind the soles of the latter. There did not remain any appearance of gloves: but on the back of each hand, and just below the knuckle of the middle finger, lies a quatrefoil, of the same metal as those on the stole, and like them ornamented with five pieces of transparent paste; with this difference, however, that the centre-piece in each quatrefoil is larger, and seemingly of a more beautiful blue, than those on any of the quatrefoils on the stole.

Between the two fore-fingers and the thumb of the right hand, the king holds a scepter with the cross made of copper gilt. This scepter is two feet six inches in length, and of most excellent workmanship. Its upper part extends unto, and rests on, the king's right shoulder.

Between the two forefingers and the thumb of his left hand, he holds the rod or scepter with the dove, which, passing over his left shoulder, reaches up as high as his ear. This rod is five feet and half an inch in length. The stalk is divided into two equal parts, by a knob or fillet, and at its bottom is a flat ferule. The top of the stalk terminates in three bouquets, or tiers of oak leaves, of green enamel, in *alto relievo*, each bouquet diminishing in breadth as they approach towards the summit of the scepter, whereon stands a ball, or mound, surmounted by the figure of a dove, with its wings closed, and made of white enamel.

On the head of the corpse . . . is an open crown or fillet of tin, or latton, charged on its upper edge with trefoils<sup>1</sup> and gilt with gold, but evidently of inferior workmanship, in all respects, to that of the scepters and quatrefoils.

The shape and form of the crown, scepters, and fibula, and the manner in which the latter is fixed to the mantle, or chlamys, exactly correspond with the representation of those on the broad-seal of this king (fig. 7).

On a careful inspection of the fingers of both hands, no ring could be discovered. However, as it cannot be supposed that the corpse was deposited without that usual attendant ensign of royalty, we may with great probability conjecture, that, on the shrinking of the fingers . . . the royal ring had slipped off from the finger, and buried itself in some part of the robes, none of which were disturbed in order to search for it.

The feet, with their toes, soles, and heels, seemed to be perfectly entire; but whether they have sandals on them or not is uncertain, as the cloth tucked over them was not removed.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the crown in the effigy of Henry III., made in Edward's time.

I have already mentioned, that, previous to the removal of the top stone of king Edward's tomb, the dean of Westminster, who was present from the opening to the shutting it up, had taken every possible precaution that no damage might be done either to the royal body, or its sarcophagus. The like vigilance was observed by him during the time the coffin continued open : so that the corpse did not receive the least violation or injury ; neither was it despoiled of any of its vestments, regalia, or ornaments. On the contrary, all things were suffered to remain in the same condition, situation, and place, wherein they were found. After the spectators had taken a sufficient view, the top of the coffin, and the covering-stone of the tomb, were restored to their proper places, and fastened down by a strong cement of terrice before the dean retired from the chapel.



FIG. 7. GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I.

From this description of so many of the king's robes as were examined, it will be seen that they agree with the lists and effigies already noted. One ornament however now appears for the first time, namely the stole. The history of this will be discussed below.

Of the crowns belonging to the regalia in the reign of Edward I. some interesting particulars have been preserved.

In the wardrobe account of his twenty-eighth year (1299-



1300),<sup>1</sup> in a list of jewels remaining at the end of his twenty-seventh year from those 'which were the Lady Blanche of Spain's,' four gold crowns are enumerated: one with rubies and emeralds and great pearls valued at £600, another upon blue pearls (*super perlis indeis*) worth £310, a third of one piece with rubies and emeralds worth £320, and a fourth described as

una corona magna auri cum baleis quarratis ameraudis saphiris orientalibus rubeis et perlis orientalibus grossis precij m'm'viiij<sup>o</sup>li. touronum nigrorum. Que assignatur ad portandum super capita Regum Anglie in exitu ecclesie ad prandium die coronacionis eorundem.

In another list, made in June, 1303, on the discovery of the burglary and robbery of the royal treasury at Westminster by Richard de Podlicote, among the jewels left behind in the treasury, 'in one of the long coffers from the Tower of London,' were:

Magna corona auri qua Rex usus fuit die coronacionis sue cum preciosa pretraria magnorum balesiorum rubetorum et ameraldarum cujus precium prius estimatur.

Corona auri cum consimilibus lapidibus ponderis xxxvi. s. et ii. den.—precii c. marcarum.

Corona auri ponderis ciii. s. et xi. den.—precii ccl. li.

Corona auri cum rubettis ameraldis et grossis perlis—precii vi<sup>xx</sup>. li.<sup>2</sup>

Of the coronation of Edward II. in 1308 the full order is preserved in the Public Record Office.<sup>3</sup> It differs but little from the later order known as *Liber Regalis*, but the rubrics are very short and the ornaments are only mentioned by name. The king was stripped for the anointing to his shirt (*vestis*), which was then torn apart down to the girdle for the unction. After the anointing the order directs 'induatur sindonis collobio, capite amictu operto propter unctionem,' and the buskins, sandals, and spurs were put on the king's feet. No mention is made, perhaps through carelessness of the scribe, of the investiture with either the tunic or the dalmatic; and the rite proceeds with the girding of the sword and the reception of the *armilleæ*. After the giving of the *pallium*, the king was crowned and the ring put on his finger. He was next divested of the sword, which was offered at

<sup>1</sup> Soc. Antiq. Lond. MS. 119, f. 285.

<sup>2</sup> H. Cole, *Documents Illustrative of English History of the 13th and 14th Centuries* (London, 1844), 277.

<sup>3</sup> It is printed in full in Rymer's *Fœdera* (ed. 1818), ii. pt. i. 33-6.

the altar and redeemed, and lastly the sceptre and rod were put in his hands.

Edward's alabaster effigy on his tomb at Gloucester apparently represents him in (i.) a tunic reaching to the feet, with tight sleeves; (ii.) the dalmatic, which is as long as the tunic, but slit up the front and provided with close sleeves extending to the elbow only, whence they are continued as short liripips; and (iii.) the *pallium* or mantle, which is hung over the shoulders. The king wears a jewelled crown, and in his ungloved hands he holds the rod, from which the dove has been broken off, and the orb, which was once surmounted by the cross (fig. 8).

The well known picture of a coronation in a MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (M. 20), which has several times been reproduced,<sup>1</sup> possibly gives us an ideal representation of the crowning of Edward II. (fig. 9). The central figure of the king shows him enthroned, vested in (i.) the white *colobium sindonis*; (ii.) a red tunic, slit up the sides so as to show the green lining; (iii.) an embroidered dalmatic barred with blue and yellow,<sup>2</sup> and girded; and over all (iv.) the *pallium regale*, of a pinkish brown lined with minever and fastened in front by a large gilt and jewelled sexfoil brooch. The king has a jewelled crown on his head and yellow buskins on his



FIG. 8. EFFIGY OF EDWARD II. AT GLOUCESTER.

<sup>1</sup> The latest and best version is that forming the frontispiece to Mr. Leopold G. Wickham Legg's *English Coronation Records*.

<sup>2</sup> This barring of the dalmatic may be traditional (see the description of the seals of Henry I. and Stephen and Henry II. *ante*).

feet, but no gloves nor ring on his hands. In the right hand he holds the rod and in the left the sceptre. From the neck to the waist extends a vertical red stripe, the meaning or use of which is doubtful, unless it be to attach the mantle brooch to.<sup>1</sup>

Edward II. used his father's seal, with a small addition for difference, so it cannot be cited as an authority for his robes.

A list of no fewer than ten crowns is included in a long indenture of the jewels and vessels of gold and silver delivered to the chamberlains of the exchequer by Thomas de Useflete, clerk, on 4th May, 1324.<sup>2</sup> Nine of them were of gold, richly jewelled, and ranged in value from 100s. to £200; the tenth was of silver of Paris work. There is nothing however to show that any of them belonged to the regalia.

For a detailed account of the coronation ornaments of Edward III. we are indebted to an inventory of divers records, jewels, etc., handed over by William bishop of Winchester, late treasurer, to his successor John bishop of Rochester on 28th November, 1356. Among those in the treasury of the High Tower of London were:

- Premierement les vestementz de Samyt rouge pour la coronement du Roi.  
cest assavoir  
deux tunicles . une mantell ove orfraitz dor pouderez des eymeraudes et alts perles  
Item une Stole de Samyt rouge garnyz des eymeraudes et perles ove deux pendantz dor garnez de perr'  
Item deux chaunceons de samyt rouge garniz dor  
Item une Cappe de samyt rouge overte dor ove quatre plates dor  
Item deux rochettes de soye blanche et alts petites remembrances touchanz la coronement  
Item deux pairs desporons pour lencoronement du Roi  
Item deux ceptres endorrez ove les sommetes de merlott  
Item un ceptre court dor ove la summet de merlott  
Item deux Ceptres courtes dor ove deux croisez en les summetz  
Item un Espe appelle courtane  
Item deux alts espiez lun ove lescauberk dargent eymell et lautre ove lescauberk de samyt rouge frette dor<sup>3</sup>

The inventory also includes among the contents of the treasury in the cloister of Westminster four crowns:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the description above of the fastening of the brooch in Edward I.'s coffin.

<sup>2</sup> F. Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer* (London, 1836), iii. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 225. The text is more correctly printed from the original among the Exchequer Accounts (333/28) in Mr. Legg's *English Coronation Records*, from which the above version is taken.



Item la graunte Courone le Roi questoit nadgaires engage es parties de Flaundres nient priese

Item une autre Corone nient priese [deinz quele corone sont .iiii. manicles dor garniz des eymeraudes et alts perles apalle la second corone *interlined*]

Item la tierz Corone nient preise

Item la quarte Corone nient preise

As all four crowns are described as 'nothing praised,'<sup>1</sup> they are probably the crowns referred to in 1303. Whether the king had any other crowns is uncertain. In 1335 Edward III issued a mandate to Paul de Monte Florum to return two gold crowns that had been pledged to him for 8,000 marks, which sum had now been repaid.<sup>2</sup> In 1340 the king again pledged his own crown for 25,000 florins, the queen's crown for 5,500 florins and a certain small crown for 4,256 florins.<sup>3</sup>

The vestments enumerated above, which were all of costly red samite, include two 'tunics,' that is the tunic and dalmatic; the mantle with its jewelled orfreys; the stole,<sup>4</sup> which was garnished with emeralds and pearls, with two gold and jewelled pendants; the buskins; a cope with four gold plates; two white silk rochets, probably two *colobia sindonis*; two pairs of spurs; two gilt sceptres with 'merlots' on top; a short gold sceptre with a 'merlot' on top; two short sceptres with crosses on top; and three swords, the one called Curtana, another with an enamelled silver scabbard, and the third with the scabbard covered with red samite fretted with gold.

It is uncertain whether any of the seals of Edward III. represent him in his coronation robes. The first that was made for him<sup>5</sup> shows him crowned and enthroned, wearing a tunic or surcoat and a mantle fastened in front by a brooch, but the mantle has a hood and is so disposed over the knees as to more or less hide the under vestments. The hands are certainly gloved; in the right is a short rod surmounted by leafwork, or a bird with spread wings, and in the left is the orb with a very short cross.

The second seal<sup>6</sup> also shows the king in a girded tunic or

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Legg translated *nient preise* as 'worth nothing,' but a crown upon which money could be raised by pawning it must surely have been of value.

<sup>2</sup> T. Rymer, *Fœdera* (ed. 1821), ii. pt. ii. 909.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. pt. ii. 1124.

<sup>4</sup> This is the first mention of the stole in a document.

<sup>5</sup> That known as 'Willis, B.?'; it was in use from 1327-40.

<sup>6</sup> 'Willis, C.?', in use 1338-40 as a seal of absence.

dalmatic and a mantle, which is fastened by a brooch upon the right shoulder and brought over the knees. In the right hand is the rod with the dove, and in the left a short sceptre with the cross.

The last and finest of Edward's seals, that made in 1360 after the peace of Bretigny, shows him in apparently the robes of estate and not in his coronation vestments. He has on a tightly fitting surcoat fastened up the front with a jewelled band, and a mantle with a rich border held in front by a brooch. The mantle is so disposed over the legs as to render it uncertain how they were covered. The king is crowned and holds in his right hand the rod, which ends in a rich pinnacle, and in his left the sceptre with the cross.

The gilt bronze monumental effigy of the king at Westminster (fig. 10) represents him in the pair of tunics and the mantle. The tunic reaches to the feet and has long tight sleeves buttoned underneath. The dalmatic is the same length as the tunic and is slit up the front to show it, but the sleeves are not quite so long. The ornamented cuffs of both vestments are clearly shown. The mantle hangs straight from the shoulders to the feet, and is kept in place by a band across the chest. The hands are bare, but the feet are shod with ornamented sandals. The effigy has been despoiled of the crown, the brooches of the mantle, and the two sceptres, but the ends of the shafts of these remain in the hands and show that they were different in length.

No later monument nor great seal of an English king represents him in his coronation ornaments.

The three coronation swords mentioned in the list last quoted are described by Roger of Howden as being carried in the procession at the coronation of Richard I. at Westminster in 1189, in scabbards covered throughout with gold; but as he says they were taken from the king's treasury, it is clear that they had been so used before. They were certainly used in 1170 at the coronation of the younger King Henry, son of Henry II., for on the Pipe Roll for 1169-70 is the entry :

Et pro auro ad deaurandam vaissellam Regis filii Regis et ad reparandos enses ad Coronamentum Regis. xxxiiii. s. & ix. d. per Ottonem filium Willelmi et Willelmum filium Ailwardi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Roll Society, xv. (1892), 16.

A further charge for the swords occurs in the Pipe Roll for 1171-2 :

Et pro gladiis Regis furbandis et pro auro ad eosdem adornandos. xxvi. s. & ii. d. per breve Regis. Et ad Puntos et Heltos eorundem Gladiorum. xl. s. in argento blanco per breve Regis.<sup>1</sup>

The swords are again recorded to have been borne at the coronation of Queen Eleanor in January, 1235-6, when for the first time the name Curtana is applied to that sword which had been shortened by cutting off its point. This sword is still called by its old name.

With the accession of Richard II. in 1377 is associated the fourth of the coronation orders, that contained in *Liber Regalis*.<sup>2</sup> The actual book is still in the custody of the Dean of Westminster and may have been used at Richard's coronation. It is however practically identical with the form used at the coronation of Edward II. and (probably) Edward III., but has fuller rubrics. From these some interesting details may be learned about the royal ornaments.

The array worn by the king on the morning of his coronation both in 1308 and in 1377 is only indicated by the general direction: *induto mundissimis vestibus et caligis tantummodo calciato*. This would seem at one time to have meant fine linen only, for Matthew Paris says that on the death of the younger King Henry in June, 1183 :

Corpus autem in lineis pannis, id est, vestibus candidis, quas habuit in

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Roll Society, xviii. (1894), 144.

<sup>2</sup> This has been printed several times. The latest version is that in Mr. L. G. W. Legg's *English Coronation Records*, pp. 81-130.



FIG. 10. EFFIGY OF EDWARD III. AT WESTMINSTER.



consecratione, sacro crismate delibatas, regaliter involutum, Rothomagum delatum est, et in ecclesia cathedrali prope majus altare cum honore tanto congruo principi tumulatur.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever these garments were, the rubric in *Liber Regalis* before the anointing shows that they included a silk tunic and a shirt (*tunica serica et camisia*), which were provided with openings on the breast, shoulders, back, and elbows, closed with silver loops (*connexis ansulis argenteis*). For the actual anointing all the vestments save this tunic and the shirt were laid aside. After the anointing there were put upon the king :

1. A coif (*amictus*) 'on account of the anointing,' which continued to be worn until the eighth day after ;
2. The sleeveless tunic of sindon,<sup>2</sup> shaped like a dalmatic (*colobium sindonis ad modum dalmatice formatum*) ;
3. A long tunic reaching down to the ankles, woven with great golden images before and behind (*tunica longa et talaris intexta magnis ymaginibus aureis ante et retro*) ;
4. The buskins (*caligæ*), sandals (*sandaria*), and spurs (*calcaria*) ;
5. The sword and its girdle ;
6. The armils (*armillæ*) ;
7. The royal mantle, foursquare, and woven throughout with golden eagles (*pallium regale : quod quidem pallium quadratum est : et aquilis aureis per totum contextum*) ;<sup>3</sup>

After these the king received :

(i.) the crown ; (ii.) the ring ; (iii.) the gloves ; (iv.) the golden sceptre with the cross, *quod quidem sceptrum aureum est in cujus summitate crux parva* ; and (v.) the golden rod with the dove, *que quidem virga aurea est habens in summitate columbam auream*.

Such are the ornaments and the order of their assumption directed by *Liber Regalis*. It will be seen that they differ in one point only from what has been before said, that instead of the tunic and dalmatic only the tunic is mentioned.

Of the actual coronation of Richard II. a full account has been preserved in the English History of Thomas Walsingham,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series 44), i. 426.

<sup>2</sup> A silken stuff known by various names, such as cendal, sandal, syndon, etc. The fact of the *colobium* being of silk in no way militates against its correspondence with the albe, which in rich churches was sometimes entirely of silk instead of linen.

<sup>3</sup> The decoration of the royal robes with golden eagles is very ancient. The inventory of Westminster Abbey made in 1388 enumerates 'tres cape sancti Edwardi in quibus fuerat sepultus. unde prima glaucei coloris cum talentis. Secunda rubea cum lunis. Tercia cum aquilis de quibus due sunt cum aurifragiis novis ex dono fratris Johannis Somerton' (*Archæologia*, lii. 257).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (ed. Riley, Rolls Series 28), i. 332-7.



FIG. 9.

CORONATION OF AN ENGLISH KING *TEMP* EDWARD II.

[From *Corpus Christi College (Cambridge) MS. M 20*]





a monk of St. Albans, which gives several additional interesting details concerning the royal ornaments.

When the moment for the anointing came the archbishop approached the king, and rending asunder his vestments with his hands from top to bottom,<sup>1</sup> put them all off him except his shirt. Then while the Wardens of the Cinque Ports continued to hold over the king the great sky-blue silk canopy, a golden cloth was brought by earls, under which he was hidden while the archbishop anointed him. He was next vested, first with the tunic of St. Edward and after with St. Edward's dalmatic,<sup>2</sup> and the stole was put about his neck. After the delivery and girding of the sword the armils were put upon him, and last of all the royal mantle.

After the crowning and the investment with the ring, the Lord Furnival offered to the king a red glove, which the archbishop blessed and put on his hand, and then delivered to him first the sceptre and lastly the rod. Walsingham describes the rod as having a dove on top, but the sceptre he says 'consurrexit de rotundo globo aureo, quem tenebat in manu chirothecato, et habebat in summitate signum crucis.'

It will be seen that Walsingham does not mention the sleeveless tunic of sindon, but he describes the putting on of St. Edward's dalmatic as well as that king's tunic, both of which, as we have seen above, are included in Sporley's list of a later date than this. Walsingham also describes the putting on of the stole as well as the armils.

It has been shown above that the first of the coronation orders to name any vestments directs the investiture of the king with the *armillæ* and *pallium* after the anointing, and before the imposition of the crown and delivery of the ring, sceptre, and rod. That *armillæ* here mean bracelets there can be little doubt, such ornaments being regarded from very early times as distinctly kingly. But none of the royal effigies nor any contemporary pictures represent the king as wearing them, and they are not included in any of the documents already quoted. Yet a pair of enamelled gold bracelets are found among the regalia to-day, which were made for the coronation of Charles II. to replace a pair destroyed in 1649. These

<sup>1</sup> If these were of simple linen, as suggested above, the rending of them would be an easy matter. The order of Edward II.'s coronation directs that the vest which the king is wearing is to be rent to the girdle for the anointing.

<sup>2</sup> The dalmatic, as noted above, is not mentioned in *Liber Regalis*.

again, from the identity of their weights, seem to be those included among the regalia of Henry VIII. which were received by Edward VI. and are described in the inventory as

Item one paier of Bracelletes of golde garnished with six ballaces nott fyne six course bigg perles muche of one sorte and v lesser perles of one sorte weying togethers with blacke lace poyntes . . . . . vij ounces di.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand a stole of considerable splendour still lies over the dalmatic upon the body of Edward I., and that described above in the list of the regalia of Edward III. must have been equally rich.

The question is further complicated by a note which follows in *Liber Regalis* the receiving of the *armille* :

Iste quidem armille in modum stole circa collum et ab utraque scapula usque ad compages brachiorum erunt dependentes. in ipsis brachiorum compagibus laqueis sericis connexe prout plenius per ipsarum poterit discerni compositionem.

That is, the armils shall hang about the neck after the manner of a stole from the shoulders to the elbows, and be bound to the elbows by silken laces, as may more fully be seen by the form of the armils themselves.

If we again turn to the description of Edward III.'s stole it may be possible to clear up the difficulty :

Item une Stole de Samyt rouge garnyz des eymeraudes et perles ove deux pendantz dor garnez de perr<sup>2</sup>.

From a comparison of these entries it would seem that the 'two pendants' of the stole are actually the armils, and that by some process not now to be traced they have become attached to and part of the stole, which henceforth has borne their name.

Walsingham's mention of both stole and armils may be explained on the supposition that the stole and its pendants were put round the king's neck after the dalmatic, and the pendants, *i.e.* the armils, not tied to the elbows until the appointed place after the girding of the sword.

The order in *Liber Regalis* is the earliest that directs the king at the end of the service to go devoutly to the shrine of St. Edward, and there take off the crown and all the other ornaments that have just been put upon him. He is then revested with other vestments and crowned with another crown, and resuming the sceptres only of the regalia, takes

<sup>1</sup> Soc. Antiq. Lond. MS. cxxix. f. 7b.

his formal departure from the church. This was no doubt the usual practice from a much earlier time, and Roger of Howden is careful to note that after the coronation of Richard I. the king was conducted to his chamber, there being then no chapel or shrine of St. Edward in the abbey church, and his royal crown and vestments exchanged for other and higher ones (*leviores coronam et vestes*).

The mutilated gilt bronze effigy of Richard II. at Westminster (fig. 11), made in 1395, represents the king in a long gown or tunic, a tippet with ample hood, and a mantle. These are apparently the king's robes of estate and not his coronation ornaments. The effigy has unfortunately lost the crown, the brooch of the mantle, and the hands. The king's bushy hair was evidently encircled by a fillet, over which was worn the crown.

Of the coronation of Henry IV. an account has been preserved to us by Froissart, whose narrative is also appropriated by John de Waurin.<sup>1</sup>

On the day of his crowning the king is described as having been robed in royal state (*en estat royal*), save that he had no crown nor cap on his head. For the anointing he is said to



FIG. 11. BUST OF RICHARD II. FROM HIS EFFIGY AT WESTMINSTER.

<sup>1</sup> Jehan de Waurin, *Recueil des Chroniques et Anciennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne*, 1399-1422 (ed. W. J. Hardy, London, 1868), Rolls Series 39, pp. 5, etc.



have been stripped of the royal state quite naked to the skin (*dé vestu de l'estat Royal, tout nud jusques al a conroye*). Then a cap was put on his head. He was next vested in the robes of the church as a deacon, and then they shod him with shoes of red velvet like those of a prelate, and afterwards they put on him spurs without points :

Et la le Roy fut vestu des draps de l'Eglise, comme un Diacre : et luy chaussa on un veloux de vermeil, en guise de Prelat, et puis uns esporons, à une pointe sans molette.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing is said about the remaining ornaments save that the 'sword of justice,' which appears to have been Curtana, since it was that borne by the Prince of Wales, was delivered drawn to the king, who put it back in its sheath, and then he was crowned with the crown of St. Edward, 'laquelle couronne estoit archee en croix.'<sup>1</sup>

The mention here of the king being vested 'as a deacon' is significant of the sacred character supposed to be conferred by coronation.

The information that the crown wherewith Henry IV. was crowned was that known as St. Edward's, and that it was arched over instead of being open as heretofore, is interesting. Whether this crown actually was St. Edward's is doubtful. It is true that Sporley includes the best gold crown (*coronam auream optimam*) among the regalia of St. Edward which were preserved as relics in the abbey church of Westminster, but it is more likely that 'the great crown,' though usually known as the Confessor's, from being kept with his regalia, was one which was remade from time to time as fashion varied. Since Henry IV.'s the royal crown has generally been arched. It is so shown in the sculpture of the coronation of Henry V. on the arch of his chantry chapel at Westminster, and on the great seals since the third one used by Edward IV. from 1471 to 1480.

At the coronation of Henry IV. the principal sword called Curtana was borne by Henry prince of Wales,<sup>2</sup> and besides the other two, and in addition to the fourth sword or sword of estate, there was carried a fifth by Henry earl of Northumberland as lord of the Isle of Man, described as

illum Gladium nudum quo cinctus erat præfatus Rex quando ipse, ante

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire et Chroniques Memorable de Messire Jehan Froissart* (Paris, 1574), vol. iv. ch. cxiii. p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> T. Rymer, *Fœdera* (ed. 1727), viii. 90.

Coronationem suam, ut Dux Lancastriæ, in partibus de Holderness applicuit, vocatum LANCASTRE SWORD.<sup>1</sup>

The monumental effigy of Henry IV. at Canterbury (fig. 12) and his great seal represent him in robes of estate, similar to those on the effigy of Richard II. (fig. 11), namely a long gown or tunic, a tippet and hood, and a mantle. On the head is a very rich open crown. The hands are unfortunately broken.

The coronations of Henry V., Henry VI.<sup>2</sup> and Edward IV., so far as we have any proper records of them, do not furnish us with any new facts, and it is not improbable that the fulness of the rubrics in *Liber Regalis* had now begun to produce a state, as it were, of crystallization.

The interesting memoranda known as *Forma et Modus*, of which several copies exist both in Latin and English, show clearly that the ordinary fifteenth century form was that of *Liber Regalis*.<sup>3</sup>

Of the coronation of Richard III. several detailed accounts have been preserved, as well as a semi-official order called the *Little Device*, and a wardrobe account of all the necessities and ornaments provided for the ceremony.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 91. See also on page 95 the letters patent of October 19, 1399, conferring upon the earl this privilege.

<sup>2</sup> An account of the coronation of Henry VI. tells how at the end of the service the king went to St. Edward's shrine 'and there was he dyspoyled of *all his bysshoppys gere*, and arayed as a Kynge in riche cloth of gold, with a crowne on his hede.' Quoted from Cott. MS. Nero C. ix. in Arthur Taylor's *The Glory of Regality* (London, 1820), 264.

<sup>3</sup> L. G. W. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 172.



FIG. 12. EFFIGY OF HENRY IV. AT CANTERBURY.

The *Little Device* tells how the king is to be arrayed by the chamberlain on the day of his coronation,

First w<sup>t</sup> two shirtes on of Lawne, thother of Crymsen Tartayne both Largely opened before and behinde, and in the shulders. Laced w<sup>t</sup> Amblettes of silver and gilt, A great large breche to the middell thigh pynched togeidr befor and behynd, a breche belte of velvet to gather the same together. A paire of hosen of Crymsen Sarsenet vampeys and all. A cote of Crymsen Satten largely openid as the shirtes be to the which cote his hosen shal be Laced w<sup>t</sup> ryband of silke A Sircote close furred w<sup>t</sup> menyver pur, whereof the collo<sup>r</sup> handes, and the Speres shalbe garnished with Ryband of golde. A hooede of estate furred w<sup>t</sup> Mynever pur and purfelled w<sup>t</sup> Ermyns. A great mantell of Crymsen Satten furred also w<sup>t</sup> mynever pur w<sup>t</sup> a great Lace of silke, w<sup>t</sup> two tassells also in colo<sup>r</sup> crymsen, A Litle Cappe of estate of Crymsen Satten ermyned and garnished w<sup>t</sup> ryband of golde.<sup>1</sup>

For the anointing the king is ordered to be unarrayed and unclothed by his chamberlain as far as his coat of crimson satten, which, together with the crimson and lawn shirts under it, is to be unlaced at the openings. After the anointing the three vestments are to be laced up again, and a pair of linen gloves put on the king's hands. He is then to be invested with the *colobium sindonis*, described as 'a Tabarde of Tartaryn white shapen in maner of a dalmatike' and a coif to be put on his head. The remaining ornaments and regalia are to be put upon or delivered to the king in the same order and form as prescribed in *Liber Regalis*, and call for no further remark.

The accounts of the coronation of Richard have been printed by (a) Grafton in his *Chronicle*, (b) in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, and (c) by Mr. L. G. W. Legg.<sup>2</sup> Each differs somewhat from the other, but all agree in stating that the robes of estate worn by the king in procession to the church were of purple velvet, and not crimson, as directed in the *Little Device*. Both Grafton and the Oxford text printed by Mr. Legg tell us that in the procession, after the spurs, was the Earl of Bedford, 'beyond Saint Edwardes staffe for a Relique.' No mention has hitherto been made of this ornament, and it is not included in Sporley's list of the regalia of the

<sup>1</sup> L. G. W. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 225. The document printed by Mr. Legg is actually the *Little Device* for the coronation of Henry VII., collated with other copies, one of which, that in Add. MS. 18669, has evidently been copied from an order for Richard III.'s coronation. I have followed Mr. Legg's version.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 193-7.



Confessor. It was probably, if we may judge from its existing successor, an ordinary walking staff for the king's use, with which St. Edward's name became associated in the same way as with the great gold crown. Grafton also gives the meanings now assigned to the three swords<sup>1</sup>: the pointless Curtana is the sword of mercy; and the other two the swords of justice to the spirituality and temporality respectively. The fourth sword, which was borne sheathed in the procession, was the usual sword of estate.

The wardrobe account mentioned above is dated 28th June, 1483, or within two days of the accession of Richard, who was crowned on 4th July. The full text is printed in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, from whence I have extracted the items that refer, (1) to the robes provided for the king on the day of his coronation, (2) to the vestments put upon him at his crowning, and (3) to other ornaments provided for the accession. The items are sufficiently interesting to be given in full:

To oure said Souverain Lorde the Kyng for to have unto his mooste honourable use the day of his mooste noble coronation, agenst the grete solempnitee thereof maade and doon the vj day of Juyll, the yere of our Lord God mccccxxxij

two sherts, oon made of ij els dī of reyns and the other large made of ij yerds dī of sarsynet crymysyn, boothe open afore and behinde, under the breste deppest bitwene the shulders, and in the shulders and bitwene the binding of the armes for his inunction

a large breche myd thigh depe, losen afore and behinde, maade of half a yard of sarsynette bounde with a breche belt, made of a yard dī of crymysyn velvet

a pair of hosen maade of a yerde and a quarter of crymysyn satyn, lyned with a quarter of a yerde of white sarsynett

a payre of sabatons covered in a quarter of a yerde of crymysyn tisshue cloth of gold, lyned with a quarter of a yerde of crymysyn satyn, garnyssht with oon unce of ryban of golde,

a roobe of crymysyn satyn to be anoynted in, conteigning a coote, a surcoote cloos, a long mantel and a hoode, all iiij garments maade of xxxviiij yerdes of rede satyn, the saide coote lyned with ij elles dī of Holand clothe, and open afore and behynd under the breste, deppest bitwene the shulders, and in the shulders and bitwene the bynding of the armes. The openyng of this coote fastened togider with lxxij amulets of sylver and gylte, and laced with ij laces of ryban and laces of sylk, and with iiij ageletts of sylver; and above that coote a taberde lyke unto a dalmatyke, made of iiij yerdes dī of white sarsynett, put

<sup>1</sup> They are first so named in the account of the coronation of Henry VI. in Harl. MS. 497 (see Legg, p. xxv. note 2). Froissart says that the sword of justice and the sword of the church were carried at the coronation of Henry IV.

uppon the saide coote of crymyson satyn and the said mantel furred with lx timbr wombes of menyvere pure, and garnyssht with oon unce of ryban of gold of venys by the coler, and laced afore the breste with a long lace of rede sylk, with knopp and tassells of rede sylk and gold. The said surcote cloose garnyssht with oon unce of ryband of gold of venys, & furred with xxxi timbres wombes of menyver pure, the color and sleeves purfyled with ij ermyn bakks; the saide hoode furred with ij timbr of ermyn bakks, and ij timbr di and viii ermyn wombes

and a coyfe made of a plyte of lawne to be put on the Kyngs heede after his inunction, and soo to be kept on by viii dayes after the Kyngs coronation.

A roobe of purpul velvet, conteignyng vj garnets, that is to wit, a kyrtel maade of vj yerdes di of purpul velvet, furred with xx tymbr di of wombes of menyver pure. A taberd maade of iij yerds di of purpul velvet, furred with xxiiij tymber wombes of menyver purr, and the labels of the same taber purfyled with xviiij new ermyn bakks. A surcote overt maade of vj yerds di of purpull velvette, furred with xx tymbre di oon of ermyne wombes. A mantle with a traague, made of xv yerds of purpul velvett, furred with xxvj tymbr xviiij nette ermyne bakks, and powdered with vj<sup>m</sup> viij<sup>e</sup> di of powderings maade of boggy shanks; a hoode maade of ij yerds of purpull velvett furred with iij tymbr and xij ermyn bakks, and a cappe of astate maade of half a yerde of purpull velvet and furred by the roll thereof with xvj of newe ermyne bakks, and powdered with c di of powderings made of boggy shanks, and the sleeves of the saide surcote overt furred with ij tymbr di of wombes of menyver pure, and powdered with mmm.dccc. and oon powderings maade of boggy shanks, and the said roobe of purpull velvet enlarged and purfeurmed with ij yerds and iii quarters of velvet purpul, and the furre of the saide roobe purfeurmed with a tymbre of ermyn bakks, and ij tymbr of ermyn wombes, with a mantel lace with knoppes and tassels for the same roobe. A bonnet made of iij quarters of a yerde of purpull velvet, and delivered for the said grete solempnitee of both the Kings and also the Quenes mooste noble coronation . . . and for the garnysshing of the said roobe of purpull velvett xxvij yerds of ryban of damask golde, weying vij unces, and a grete boton of plate of gold, and a greete tassel of venys gold, weying iij unces; and for to make with the said robes oon unce di of silk and ix lb and ij unces threde of divers colours: and for the cappe of said roobe a roll of pythtes of rishes.<sup>1</sup>

iij swerdes, whereof oon with a flat poynte called curtana, and ij other swords, all iij swords covered in a yerde di of crymysyn tisshue cloth of gold, and for the tisshues and gyrdles of the same iij swerds, ij yerds of corse wrought with golde,

ij paire of longe spurrs all gilt, and for the tisshues of the same a yerde and iij quarters of blue corse with gold, and iij quarters di of a yerde of crymysyn corse with gold . . .

and for the covering and bynding of a sworde in the handell a quarter of a yerde of velvet . . .

and for the garnysshing of iij swerdes iij chapes of sylvyr and gilt, and xliiij bolyons of silver and gilt weying and the garnysshing of a swerde of silver and gilt weying ij unces di a penny weight.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquarian Repertory* (ed. 1807), i. 37-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 40.

It will be seen that these accounts confirm the statement of Grafton and others that the king's robes of estate were of purple velvet.

It is also interesting to note the changes in the names of the vestments put upon the king after his anointing. Over the white and the crimson shirts, with which crimson breeches and hosen were also worn, was put on a 'coote' of crimson satin, as in the *Little Device*. The *colobium sindonis* is 'a taberde lyke unto a dalmatyke' made of white sarsenet. The tunic is called the 'surcoote cloos,' and the *pallium regale* 'a long mantel and a hoode.' Both the surcoat and the mantle with its hood were lined with minever.

The armils are not mentioned. This points to their having formed part of the regalia, which with they were probably kept, and is further evidence that the *armillæ* were bracelets attached to a band worn stolewise and not merely a stole. It should be noted that the *Little Device* goes further than *Liber Regalis*, which says only that the armils shall be bound to the elbows, and directs that 'thei shalbe fastenid . . . w<sup>t</sup> Lace of silke to every side the elbowe in two places, y<sup>t</sup> is to say above thelbowes, and beneth.'

The Coronation Ornaments of the Tudor and later sovereigns must be reserved for another paper.

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

POSTSCRIPT.—From the rubric or heading in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris of the account of the coronation of Henry III. at Gloucester in 1216,

De prima regis Henrici Tertii coronatione, quæ per quandam circulum aureum facta fuit, etc.

it appears that Henry was crowned with a golden circlet only. John's crown or crowns, if they had not been lost in the Wellstream disaster, would have been too large for the boy king, and there probably was not time to make him a proper crown for the occasion.

It has been noted above that on the great seals, down to and including the first seal of Henry III., the King of England is shown sitting and holding a sword and sceptre. In the second seal of Henry III., made in 1259, after the Treaty of Abbeville and the renunciation of the title 'Dux Normannie et Comes Andegavie,' the king holds the rod with the dove instead of the sword. It is therefore possible that the sword was borne by the king as Duke of Normandy.



## ANCESTORS' LETTERS

No. 1

*EDWARD BAILDON of London to ROBERT BAILDON of Baidon, 1589*

**R**IGHT deare & well beloued in y<sup>e</sup> Lord,  
 In moste humble wise I Commende me vnto yow & to my Cozen y<sup>r</sup> wife, Trusting in god y<sup>t</sup> yow & all y<sup>rs</sup> be in good health, as I & all mine was att y<sup>e</sup> writeing heereof. Very glad was I to vnderstand of my Cozen Perslow his comming downe to yow. Now for Certaine I perswade my selfe to know iustly how y<sup>w</sup> doe, for I thinke my selfe y<sup>e</sup> better when I doe heare of yow. My earnest requeste & suite vnto y<sup>w</sup> is y<sup>t</sup> yow would be soe freindly vnto me as to send by my Cozen Perslow y<sup>r</sup> Petigree & ours, & how they haue beene & arr matched, soe farre as yow may, vntill this time. I haue veiwed the Harrolds' booke Concerning this matter, & as yett I cannott finde itt to be any further than from Watter Baidon. If I Could I would haue itt frome y<sup>e</sup> first of y<sup>e</sup> name vntill this day. I will doe what I Can to bring this to passe. The Harrold of armes will doe whatt he can or may for me, I hope. theirefore I pray yow now putt to y<sup>r</sup> helping hand as mutch as in yow lieth; then I doubt not but to bring itt to good passe. I hould my selfe to be y<sup>r</sup> nearest kinsman, &, although poore, yett I hope to giue honnor & credit to my house & kindred, rather then otherwise. I speake in the praise of god, & not in pride of my owne flesh. Thus haisted, in y<sup>e</sup> Lord I bidd yow farewell, from my poore house in Thold Jury in London, this 26 : of August, 1589.

Y<sup>r</sup> poor Louing Cozen  
 euer to Command,

EDWARD BAILDON.

My harty Commendations to my Cozen Willi : Baidon & his wife, & to all my young Cozens wheresoeuer. & if my purse were vnto my hart, yow should all know y<sup>t</sup> yow had a loveing Cozen southwards; but y<sup>e</sup> will of god must be done. I pray yow to send me word in what Parish y<sup>e</sup> house of Baidon is of & in what hundred.

*The Answer*

Willi : Baildon was y<sup>e</sup> first, & dwelled att Baildon in y<sup>e</sup> second of Henery [IV].

Nicholas Baildon, his sone, married one of y<sup>e</sup> S<sup>nt</sup> William's daughters in Henry y<sup>e</sup> sixt dayes.

Walter Baildon married one of Caluerleye's in Henry y<sup>e</sup> seventh's dayes.

John Baildon married one of y<sup>e</sup> Haldenbye's daughters in Holdernesse in Henry y<sup>e</sup> seuenth dayes.

Robert Baildon married Merfeild's daughter in Henry y<sup>e</sup> eight dayes.

Nicolas Baildon, my father, married one of the Waterhouse's daughters in King Henr : the eight's dayes.

& I married one of Maude's daughters in this queen's dayes.

I pray yow to take paines to make me a letter according to this instructions & letter sent to me of the other side, & I shall pay yow for y<sup>r</sup> paines.

Y<sup>r</sup> freind to Command,

*Robert Baildon*<sup>1</sup>

The letter of Edward Baildon and Robert's answer are both written on one sheet of paper and in the same hand.<sup>2</sup>

The recipient of the above letter was Robert Baildon of Baildon, in the county of York, eldest son and heir of Nicholas Baildon by his wife Sibil, daughter of Robert Waterhouse of Halifax. Robert was baptized at Halifax July 19, 1541, in accordance, no doubt, with the well known custom for a bride to go to her parents' house for her first confinement. In 1585 he entered his pedigree at the Visitation of Yorkshire by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, but does not go beyond his great-great-grandfather, Walter. He records his wife, Isabel, daughter of Thomas Maude of West Riddlesden, and his three children, William, son and heir, then aged twenty-two, and two daughters, Anne and Bridget. He died intestate in 1599.

<sup>1</sup> The facsimile is taken from a better signature, dated 1585; Exchequer Depositions, Michaelmas Term, 27 & 28 Elizabeth, No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The volume containing it (Stowe MS. 713, fo. 175<sup>b</sup>) is a collection of coats of arms, of the seventeenth century, which belonged to William Brack of York in 1735, and to 'Thomas Beckwith of York, painter and F.A.S.,' in 1783. At the end are bound up a number of pages which have nothing to do with the subject matter of the volume, and amongst these is the sheet above printed.

It is perhaps a matter of speculation whether one's friends or one's enemies may be trusted to give the fairest account of one's character : Robert Baildon's enemies had decidedly unfavourable views of him. In 1591, one Edward Cage, citizen and grocer of London, brought his bill in the Star Chamber, complaining of certain high-handed proceedings by Baildon and others. Among other allegations he says that they did 'in the tyme of Lente nowe last past, at Shiplaie aforesaide, take upon them to be Justices of Peace, and repaired in the daie tyme unto the house of one Alice Kirbie, widdowe, and entered in under pretence to searche for fleashe, and there in violent manner did breake open her cheste and ransacked dyvers places of her house,' hoping to find some good store of the plaintiff's money. Baildon is also said to have brought actions against 'dyvers pore men' in the names of other persons, 'pretendinge matter of trespasse' against them ; and 'causeth himself to be made an umpire or arbitrato<sup>r</sup>,' 'w<sup>ch</sup> practize and meanes he purposelie useth covenouslie to take and receyve bribes and rewards from the said pore men, w<sup>th</sup>out respect of honestie or good conscience' ; 'and the said Robert Baildon, beinge a man of more abilitie than the rest, threteneth to raise up in armes the strength and power of a whole Lordship to w<sup>th</sup>stand yo<sup>r</sup> said subject [the complainant] in his lawful proceadinge, if so be that he the said Robert Baildon be not bribed or rewarded.'<sup>1</sup>

A certain Robert Swaine of Idle, yeoman, another of the defendants, may be called as a witness on the other side. In his deposition he says that, 'abowt Lamas was xij monthes, he dyd franckly gyve and bestowe uppon Rob<sup>te</sup> Bayldon the roote ende of a greate tree, for the good will and love w<sup>ch</sup> he dyd beare to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bayldon' ; and he denies 'that y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bayldon is a comon Juryo<sup>r</sup> and a man that wilbe sone wonne w<sup>th</sup> a reward, nor that it is the comon practize of the said Baildon to deale betwene man and man in cawses of controversie, therebie to procure somme gayne to himself, or such a one as many people in Yorkeshire have complayned of.'<sup>2</sup>

In 1592 one Robert Murrowes of Baildon, collier, complains that Robert Baildon, 'secreatlie confederatinge w<sup>th</sup> one William Williamson alias Longe of Baildon aforesaid, a man of very evill and leud conversacion, everie waie fittinge the malicious

<sup>1</sup> Star Chamber Proceedings, Elizabeth, bundle C, xiv. No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, bundle C, xxxvi, No. 16.



qualitie and wicked disposicion of the said Rob<sup>te</sup> Baildon, had dyvers and sundri tymes in moste grevous manner thretened yo<sup>r</sup> pore subiect, Rob<sup>te</sup> Murrowes, to hange him, and that he would hange him, and that he would make him run his countrie w<sup>th</sup>in few daies ensewinge'—which seems a little out of the natural sequence of events.

The cousin William mentioned in Edward's postscript was the eldest son of Robert, as already mentioned. His wife was Margaret, daughter of Arthur Maude of West Riddlesden, his mother's brother. The young cousins referred to were probably Robert's daughters and William's two sons, William and John.

I know very little of the elder William. He was visited by Roger Dodsworth in 1619, and gave him some items of local information. Dodsworth records in his notebook—'to Baildon, where Mr. Baildon liveth, as his ancestors of long time have done, in good repute.' Somewhere about this time he became blind. In 1625, he complained that one William Cowper of High Bentley, in the county of York, was 'takeing advantage of yo<sup>r</sup> Orator's age and infirmity and disability to follow and prosecute sutes of lawe, yo<sup>r</sup> Orator being very aged, and having bene blynde by the space of seaven yeares now last past or thereaboutes.'<sup>1</sup> He died on December 20, 1628.

The pedigree given by Robert Baildon in his reply to Edward's letter contains two errors; he has left out a generation and married a mother to her son. The name of the wife of the first Nicholas should, of course, be FitzWilliam, not Saint William. She was in all probability a daughter of Sir John FitzWilliam of Sprotborough, who had property at Baildon. Their son was Robert Baildon, who, in 1447, married Amice, daughter of Walter Calverley of Calverley. The marriage settlement provides that Nicholas 'shall hold and fynd y<sup>e</sup> said Rob<sup>t</sup> at Courte at London two yere, at y<sup>e</sup> costages of y<sup>e</sup> same Nicholas . . . excepte two marcs whiche y<sup>e</sup> said Wauter [Calverley] shall pay to y<sup>e</sup> expenses of fyndynge of y<sup>e</sup> same Rob<sup>t</sup> duryng y<sup>e</sup> said two yere.'<sup>2</sup>

Walter was Robert's son; he married a daughter of Thomas Gargrave. The remainder of the pedigree is correct.

Turning now to Edward Baildon, the writer of the letter, although he calls himself Robert's nearest kinsman, I have not

<sup>1</sup> 'Chancery Proceedings,' Mitford, liv. No. 66.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, *Additional Charters*, No. 16939.

been able to discover the exact relationship between them. Edward had a brother Roger, of Barn Elms, Surrey, who by his will dated September 14, 1592, left his residuary estate to 'John Bayldon, Josua, Elisha, and Sara, the children of Edward Bayldon, his brother, dwellinge in the Ould Jurye in London.'<sup>1</sup> John and Elisha died young; administration to their share of their uncle's legacy was granted to Edward Baildon and Ursula his wife, their parents, during the minority of Joshua and Sarah, their brother and sister, January 19, 1593-4.<sup>2</sup>

On October 17, 1600, Joshua was entered at Merchant Taylors' School, his father being apparently then alive.

Nothing further is known of Edward Baildon or his family until 1651, when Joshua published a book with the following quaint title:—

'The Rarities of the World; containing Rules and Observations touching the Beginning of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, the Division of the Ages, and the memorable things that happened in them: why men lived longer in those days than in these present times. Also The opinion of the great Emperours, and *Egyptians*, touching the life of Man; and the strange things that have befallen Kings and Princes. With excellent discourses of Creatures bred in the Sea, to the likeness of Man; and others on Earth. *Very Pleasant and Profitable. First written in Spanish by Don Petrus Messie, afterward translated into French, and now into English.* By J. B. Gent. London, Printed by B. A. 1651.'<sup>3</sup>

The dedication is—

'To my honoured friend an kinsman,<sup>4</sup> *Paul Holdenby*, Esquire.

'SIR,

'When you arrived at Dover from your travels, near upon twenty years since, it was my happiness to meet you there, where I received a token of your love, out of the store you brought with you, a book, *Petrus Messia*, translated into French, which hath lien by me ever since, till now, not at all perused; for which I blame my own negligence. But being once entred into it, I found great delight in the varieties of the histories, and withall, that there might be much profit gathered therein,

<sup>1</sup> P. C. C., Harrington, fo. 69.

<sup>2</sup> London Commissary Court.

<sup>3</sup> 'London, Printed by *Bernard Alsop*, dwelling near the upper Pump in Grub street, 1650.' Colophon.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot explain this relationship.

which encouraged me as I read, to translate it into English, the better to confirm them in memory, drawn still on with delight, till I had finished some of the choicest Lectures, to a good number of sheets, which I intended onely for mine own private use: but being viewed by some friends, they much perswaded me to make them publick (though unwilling), yet well weighing the gravity of the matter, and the great learning of the Author, adding thereto the benefit that the younger sort might gain thereby, in making them speak as maturely and gravely as the gray-headed, to many things done and past, long before themselves had any being, I thought I should gain no reproach to publish what I had done in English; which I dedicate to you, as too small a recompence for the many ancient favours I have received from you, desiring you to accept of this, as a pledge and testimony, both of my unfeigned love, and respectful thankfulness, for the many kindnesses I have received from you, evidenced in many particulars, for which I must yet, and will ever remain

‘Your affectionate and thankfull friend

‘JOSHUA BAILDON.’

One other production of Joshua’s is known, a MS. in the Harleian collection. It bears this title:—

‘Historie of the Greate Kingdome of China, in the East Indies: Containeing the Scituation, Antiquities, Fertilitie, Religion, Ceremonies, Sacrifices, Kings, Magistrats, Manners, Customes, Lawes, and other memorable things of that Kingdome: Together with three voyages made thither in the years 1577, 1579, and 1581, with the most remarkable singularities there seene and taken notice of. Allsoe an Itinerarie of the New World, and the discovery of New Mexico in the yeare 1538. Translated by Jos. Baildon, of the Society of that most magnificent Hospitall founded by Thomas Sutton, Esquire, in Charterhouse, 1663.’

I know nothing further of Joshua or his family, and I shall be most grateful if any reader of *The Ancestor* can give me any additional information.

W. PALEY BAILDON.

*Note.*—Since the above was set up I have seen another MS. of Joshua Baildon’s, namely, a translation of Tabourot’s *Les Bigarrures et Touches du Seigneur des Accords, avec les Apophthegmes du Sieur Gaulard et les Ecraignes Dijonnoises*. This MS. is written from the Charterhouse, but it is not dated. It belongs to Mr. E. H. Bayldon of Dawlish.



## THE GROSVENOR MYTH

A SINGULAR glamour of romance has long surrounded the early history of the Grosvenors. Even the sober historian of Cheshire, though with misgiving, puts off for once his attitude of criticism to introduce, with a profound reverence, a family veritably dating from the Conquest.<sup>1</sup> Peerage writers such as Lodge and Burke are here in their element. Foster errs in the opposite direction, ignoring the earlier descent. Collins, improving upon the narrative in Wotton's *Baronetage*, writes<sup>2</sup> :—

This noble family is descended from a long train, in the male line, of illustrious ancestors, who flourished in Normandy, with great dignity and grandeur, from the time of its first erection into a sovereign dukedom, A.D. 912, to the Conquest of England, in the year 1066 ; having been always ranked among the foremost there, either for nobleness of blood or power ; and having had the government of many castles and strong holds in that duchy, and likewise the possession of the honourable and powerful office of Le Grovenour ; it is certain, that from that place of high trust they took their surname . . . The patriarch of this ancient house was an uncle of Rollo, the famous Dane . . .

with more to the same purpose.

Now the family is of undoubted antiquity and distinction. By a long series of fortunate marriages, from the heiress of Pulford to the famous 'milkmaid' of Ebury,<sup>3</sup> it has risen in wealth and consequence, and has attained in recent times the highest rank in the peerage. The late Duke of Westminster held a position in society and at court such as no mere wealth or peerage dignity could command. But it is a far cry from Queen Victoria to Rollo the famous Dane. If marriages brought the Grosvenors wealth, a divorce seems to have served as their stepping stone to honours. They have at any rate no claim to be reckoned, like Nevill or Howard, among our ancient nobility. The last head of the family was the first

<sup>1</sup> Ormerod, ed. Helsby, Allostock, iii. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Collins, ed. Bridges (1812), v. 239 ; Wotton (ed. 1741), i. 497. 'Ex infor. Dom. Rob. Grosvenor, Bar.' One regrets especially to see old fables dished up once more in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> This is of course but a nickname. For the pedigree of Miss Davies see *Middlesex and Herts Notes and Queries* (1896), ii. 189.

duke and third marquis ; the earldom dates only from 1784, and the barony from 1761. His ancestors, the Grosvenors of Eaton, upon whom a baronetcy was conferred in 1622, were cadets of a knightly house in the palatinate of Chester. The chief facts concerning them have long been common property ; but though different writers have shaken their heads over this or that detail, none has seriously faced the task of separating truth from fiction.

The received account of their origin is in the main derived from the celebrated controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in 1385-90. For example, Collins and Ormerod alike profess to rely upon this for their information. Happily a contemporary record of the suit remains, though no longer in a perfect state, and was printed by Sir Harris Nicolas.<sup>1</sup> The story has been told before ; but it is one that will bear repetition.

In the year 1385 an English army, under the king in person, invaded Scotland. Among the banners displayed on this occasion was that of Sir Richard Scrope, first Lord Scrope of Bolton, a distinguished soldier and statesman, who, besides being present at several of the greatest battles of his time,<sup>2</sup> had held the offices of treasurer, steward of the king's household, and twice chancellor of England. His arms were, in the blazon of that day, *dazure ove une bende dore*. To his high indignation he found in the camp a knight of the palatinate, Sir Robert Grosvenor, bearing the same coat. A dispute followed, when Grosvenor maintained his right ; and the matter was referred to a court of chivalry, composed of the constable and marshal of England (or their lieutenants), with other nobles, knights and learned clerks, the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury among them. Many sittings were held ; much evidence collected and heard on either side. Scrope, as might be expected, brought forward the more numerous and more distinguished array, leading off with John

<sup>1</sup> Chancery, Misc. Rolls, B. 10, Nos. 2, 3. *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, privately printed, 1832. See also *Herald and Genealogist*, i. For the purposes of *Burke's Peerage* these far off events are covered by *Sir Bernard Burke's Reminiscences*.

<sup>2</sup> According to some accounts, both at Crecy and Nevill's Cross (G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*). The depositions mention that William, his elder brother, was at Crecy, also Henry and Stephen Scrope, but not Sir Richard. Compare General Wrottesley's monograph, *Crecy and Calais*.

of Gaunt, *Roy du Chastell & de Lyon, duc de Lancastre*. Other deponents on his part were *Le Counte de Derby*, afterwards Henry IV.; the Duke of York; Sir John Holand, styled the king's brother; the Earl of Northumberland (aged 45), and a Sir Henry de Percy (aged 20, *armez prim'ment quant le Chastell de Berwyk estoit pris par les Escoces & q'nt le rescous fuist fait*), in whom we recognise the Harry Hotspur of history and ballad; and if not most noble, most famous perhaps of all, *Geffray Chaucere esquier, del age de xl ans & plus*. Grosvenor's witnesses were drawn chiefly from the two counties palatine; but among them were several men of mark, such as Oweyn Sire de Glendore, a name familiar to us all. At length in 1389 the Duke of Gloucester, as constable, gave sentence in favour of Scrope, granting the defendant permission to bear *lez ditz armes ove un playn bordure dargent*.

Among the depositions we find mention of a third claimant of these arms, Thomas Carminowe, an esquire of Cornwall. He carried back his claim far beyond the conquest, or even Rollo, to King Arthur's round table. Meeting Scrope in the French wars he challenged his right to them, when six knights found that each party had made good his claim.<sup>2</sup> On another occasion Carminowe had been challenged in his turn by Sir John Daniell (or Danyers) on behalf of Sir Robert Grosvenor, his son-in-law, then a minor; but I can find no mention of the result.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Pur taunt q' de la p'tie du dit Rob't avoms trouez g'andes evidences & p'sumptions semblables en sa defense des dites armes.'

<sup>2</sup> Depositions of John of Gaunt, Sir Thomas Fychet, etc. John Topclyffe adds: 'Pur ceo q' Cornwale estoit vn grosse t're & iadys portant le noun dune Roialme.'

<sup>3</sup> At the last expedition of Edward III. to France. Depositions of Sir Lawrence de Dutton, William and Robert Danyell, and others. There seems no foundation for the statement that a duel took place, unless some writer has misunderstood the French '*chalangea . . . joust le Riuier de Marne*' in Clyf's deposition. In modern times a fourth claim has been put forward on behalf of the D'Oyly family. 'The original arms of the family were probably "*Azure, a bend or*"; and though it is admitted that dignities were not generally hereditary in Normandy till the time of Hugh Capet (A.D. 987), yet this did not preclude the descent of armorial property, more than lands or jewels; and presuming Count Robert to have borne the coat, and to have possessed OUILLY le Vicomte near Lisieux, it is certain that his issue soon divided into 2 branches . . . I. The D'Oylys, or D'Ouillys, of OUILLY le Vicomte, who bore "*Azure, a bend or*," and remained in Normandy till the period of the English Conquest . . . II. The D'Oylys or D'Ouillys, Lords of the neighbouring vill of OUILLY la Ribaude,



From the constable's award Grosvenor at once appealed to the king, who with extraordinary promptitude appointed commissioners to rehear the case, and pronounced sentence upon it in person barely a year later. By this second sentence, not merely did he confirm Scrope's title to the *bende dore*, with costs against the defendant, but quashed and annulled the constable's grant of the differenced coat to Grosvenor, on the ground that a *playn bordure* was no sufficient difference for a stranger in blood, but only for a kinsman.<sup>1</sup>

From the king there could be no appeal. Not many years later Sir Edward Hastings, for defying a similar sentence, was laid by the heels, and languished to the end of his days in the Marshalsea prison. Grosvenor had the good sense to give way, and, crushed under the burden of heavy costs, even made humble submission to his opponent.<sup>2</sup> Thenceforward he assumed new arms, azure with a sheaf of gold, which his descendants have borne unchallenged to this day.

The new coat is commonly said to be a diminution of the three sheaves of the Earls of Chester, whom Grosvenor claimed as his kin. But his alleged kinship was with Hugh Lupus, the Domesday earl, who is said to have borne on his shield a wolf's head erased. He however lived before the age of hereditary coat armour; and even for his son the colours are changed, and the field crusilly. The third earl, a nephew of the first, dropped the wolf's head altogether. Sheaves were introduced by Hugh Kevelioc; and the three are attributed only to Earl Randle, third of that name, styled de Blundeville, with whom, on his own showing, Grosvenor's connection would be somewhat remote. Further, as a general rule, heralds are accustomed to regard the simpler coat as anterior in time to the more complex, and in so far more honourable. We should expect therefore to find, besides some change of colour, a single

who reversed tinctures, and bore "Or, a bend azure." In England, D'Oyly bore 'Azure, 2 bendlets or'; but more anciently, it is said, 'Azure, a bend or, a label gules.' (*Account of the House of D'Oyly*, by William D'Oyly Bayley, 1845, 1, 2). See also the case of Philip de la Moustre, a French knight of the Genevile garrison, who was taken prisoner, and nearly killed by William Scrope (Deposition of John Charnels). There are other foreign examples.

<sup>1</sup> 'Nous considerantz . . . q' tiel bordere nest difference sufficeant en armes entre deux estraunges & dun roialme, mes taunt soulement entre Cousyn & Cousyn priuez de sanc,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Harl. 293, f. 200. This MS. to some small extent supplements the deficiencies of the record.

charge increased to three, rather than three charges reduced to one, in order to denote a younger line of inferior rank, though it is not easy to point to another clear instance of either process. In short, three wolves' heads would seem more appropriate than a single sheaf to mark the genealogical pretensions of the Grosvenors.

One word of warning here to the author of *Armorial Families*. Strange to say, in his immaculate pages the *bende dore* still figures without protest as a paternal coat of Grosvenor; it is quartered also by descendants of a doubtful line, who differenced their sheaf with bezants.<sup>1</sup> Is this wilful contempt, or can it be ignorance? Mr. Fox-Davies is, we know, a stickler for authority. Probably therefore it merely shows that he cannot boast the marvellous memory of Sir Bernard Burke, and is not aware of the two judgments I have mentioned. The Marshalsea has no more terrors; but I tremble to think of the vials of wrath 'X' may open upon his devoted head, should he become aware of the offence in all its enormity.

To return to the court of chivalry, Grosvenor's case, as succinctly stated, was that Sir Gilbert Grosvenor came with the Conqueror to England, bearing the arms in question; and that from Sir Gilbert they descended in a direct line to himself.<sup>2</sup> The depositions however develop it in greater detail. His most important witnesses are three: the Abbot of Vale Royal, his overlord in Allostock; William de Praers; and John de Holford, his overlord in Hulme. The abbot makes Sir Gilbert a nephew of Hugh Lupus the earl, who was himself nephew of William; and proceeds to trace the pedigree from him to the defendant. Praers produces a document with the same pedigree, differing only in twice substituting Randulf for Rauf; but this document is no older than his grandfather's time; indeed the words suggest that he may have written it

<sup>1</sup> There is a place called Gravenor in Shropshire, and a family, taking from it their name, claimed to be Grosvenors, and even to be male heirs of Grosvenor of Hulme. The heralds allowed them the sheaf, with bezants for difference. But it seems, by a further confusion, some genuine Grosvenors were made to difference their arms also with bezants (see *Herald and Genealogist*, v.). Two of the Gravenors served in the campaign of Crecy (Gen. Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*).

<sup>2</sup> 'Alleggea q' mons' Gilb't Grosveno' venoit oue le Conquerer en Englet're arme en lez ditz armes et depuis en droit lynce sont descenduz au dit mons' Rob't.'

himself.<sup>1</sup> Holford adds that the first Robert, son of Gilbert, and Hugh Rowenchamp, his own ancestor, had grants respectively from Hugh Lupus of Over and Nether Lostock, the lordship of a man<sup>2</sup> slain at the battle of Nantwich; and that Over Lostock (Allostock, that is) had descended in a direct line to Sir Robert, the defendant.

The evidence of the other witnesses, more than two hundred in number, must be very summarily treated.<sup>3</sup> They agree that the Grosvenors had borne the same arms since the Conquest, a few mentioning Gilbert by name; they had heard so from great and ancient men to whom they gave credence; it was matter of common talk and belief in the county of Chester, and so forth. Many testify that they have seen ancient charters and muniments sealed with these arms; they have seen them in church windows, on tombstones and elsewhere. Among a vast mass of repetitions the following points really bear upon the pedigree.

Sir Rauf de Vernon mentions a Grosvenor (not named) buried at Norton Priory, and a tombstone there. Adam Neusom, one of Scrope's witnesses, speaks vaguely of others buried at St. Werburgh's in Chester, where their arms were to be seen in the refectory, among other places, as Thomas le Vernoun, John de Camphurst and Rauf de Egerton say. The first definite fact we get is the burial of Robert, the defendant's great-grandfather, a century earlier, in the church of the Friars Minors of Chester, commemorated by an altar-piece with his arms.<sup>4</sup> Of Robert, his son, we learn more. He served in Scotland under Edward II. as the companion in arms of William de Modburlegh, whose daughter he married; and his arms were put up in a window of Mobberley Church some sixty years before.<sup>5</sup> He rebuilt the chapel at his own seat of Hulme, with armorial windows.<sup>6</sup> Sir Lawrence de Dutton

<sup>1</sup> 'Exhibest vn muniment sicome il auoit de la relacion de William de Praes sire de Bradley [*leg.* Baddiley] son aiel & des aut's g<sup>a</sup>ntz & aunciens gentz del teno<sup>r</sup> q' lensuyt.'

<sup>2</sup> '*un home*,' which gets transformed to *one 'Hame*,' as if it were a proper name (Ormerod, iii. 163).

<sup>3</sup> Of sixty the evidence is wanting; only their names are preserved in Harl. MS. 293.

<sup>4</sup> '*un table desuz un auter*' (Depositions of Lawrence de Dutton, Geoffrey Boidell, William Danyell).

<sup>5</sup> Dep. John and Rauf Leycestre.

<sup>6</sup> Dep. Massie of Podington, Lawrence de Dutton.



fixes his death as happening 'before the great pestilence' of 1349. He was buried at Budworth church, with arms upon his tombstone, his shield and *cotearmure* hanging close by upon the wall, where many of the deponents saw them. Emma, his wife, was living some twenty years before, as John de Holcroft and Sir Richard de Bold relate.

He, if any direct ancestor of the defendant (supposing this part of the pedigree to be correct), would be the Robert son of Robert le Grosvenor who granted lands in Coton near Chester, and in Owescroft (Oscroft, in Tarvin), as Hugh de Cotoun the younger adds, to William de Coton, or Cotton, by a charter, then in possession of John de Etoun, one of the deponents; granting him also the Grosvenor arms, to bear with due difference, as might be seen on his shield hanging in Cristleton Church.<sup>1</sup> This then is the history of the arms of Cotton, silver with a bend between three roundels sable. The evidence is specially worth noting, not merely as giving us the origin of a well known coat, but as an instance of fourteenth century differencing. It also throws light upon the meaning of 'arms of affection,' and the manner in which they were conferred. According to Ormerod, Cotton's mother was a Grosvenor.<sup>2</sup>

Rauf, the defendant's father, died when on the point of starting for Picardy, and was buried at the chapel of Nether Peover, where his arms were engraved on a cross in the churchyard, besides being painted in the chapel.<sup>3</sup> We learn that the arms were to be seen also in the abbeys of Vale Royal and Combermere, in the parish churches of Lymm, Stockport, Wharton, Middlewich, Davenham, Tarvin and Aldford; the chapels of Witton, Hulme in Sandbach,<sup>4</sup> Nantwich, Goostrey and Bouthes, and in the manor houses or chapels of Over Peover (*steynes sur le docer en la sale*), Shipbrook, Dutton, Utkington, Baddiley, and Bold in Lancashire, as well as upon

<sup>1</sup> Dep. Massie of Podington, Sir Hugh de Browe, John Mainwaring.

<sup>2</sup> Ormerod, iii. 145. Compare Meoles of Meoles, who held under Grosvenor: arms, silver with a bend between two lions' heads erased sable (Ibid. ii. 494, 498).

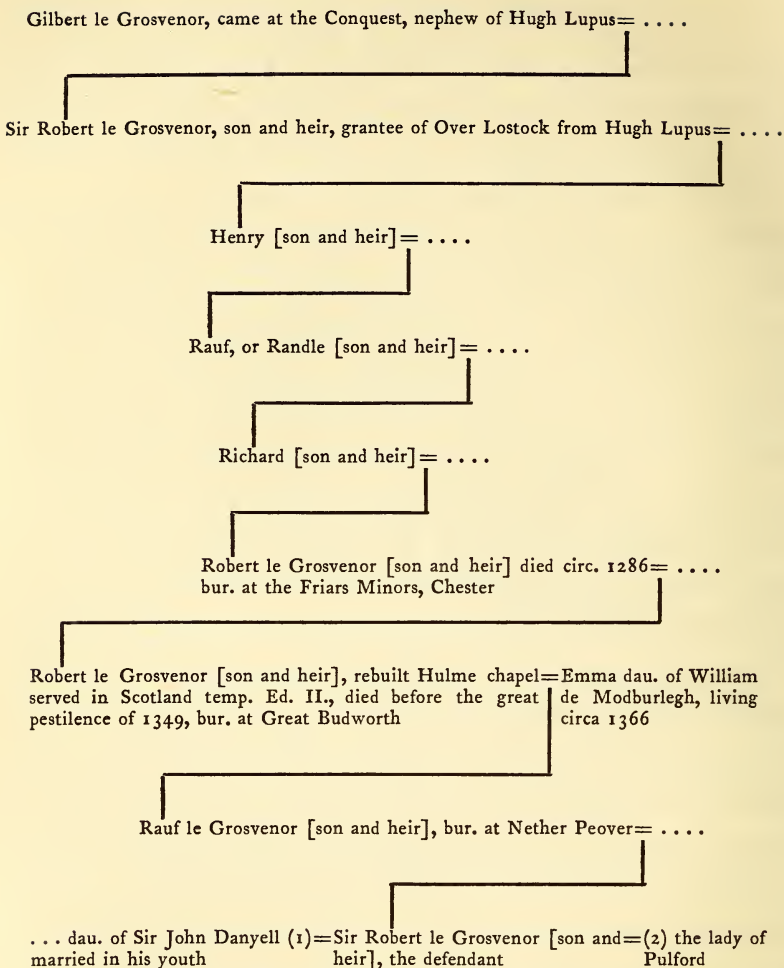
<sup>3</sup> Dep. Sir Richard de Bold, Robert de Toft, etc. Randle Mainwaring speaks of a churchyard cross at Over Peover too, but this looks like a clerk's error.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps a mistake for the other Hulme. Dep. Randle Mainwaring, John Mainwaring, Piers de Wetenhall.

Braddelegh Cross on the road from Knutsford to Warrington. We hear also of an *akedon des disz armes*, which the grandfather wore in Scotland ; of a *cotearmure* formerly preserved by Sir John de Davenport ; and of charters in the possession of St. Werburgh's at Chester, of John de Holford, John de Domvile, John de Etoun, and John de Frodesham, but their contents we are not always told.

Lastly, coming to the defendant himself, we find that previous to the invasion of Scotland he had seen considerable service in the French wars. While still a lad, he accompanied his father in law *en le darrain viage du roi Edward tierce en france*, that is to say, in the campaign of 1359-60, which ended with the treaty of Bretigny. Thus he was no doubt present when Sir John Daniens challenged Carminowe, though by reason of youth not qualified to take up his own quarrel. War broke out afresh in 1369, when Froissart tells us a force of English and Gascons took Vire in Normandy. The army, under the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, then marched southward, crossing the Loire at Nantes, and the usual desultory fighting followed. The stronghold of Brux in Poitou was attacked, and carried on a second assault. Three esquires seized the castle of Belle Perche in the Bourbonnais, and there captured the duc de Bourbon's mother. La Roche sur Yon, a fortified town of some strength, surrendered to Sir James Audley after a formal siege. Various deponents mention Grosvenor's presence on all these occasions, under Sir James de Audelegh, lieutenant of the Black Prince, *al saut de Viers, a Nautes en Britaigne, al gayne del Tour de Brose, or Bruse, as siege de Relperge* (sic), and *al siege de Rochesirion*. At this point Froissart breaks off, but the depositions add that he was at Limoges, taken and retaken in 1370, *al rescus de Blank en Berri* (Le Blanc, on the river Creuse), at the winning of Beau-lieu in Guyenne, at Mauleverer in Anjou, and at Issoudun in Poitou. Again he was with the late king at Sandwich, and *en le darrein viage du roi Edward sur le meer* ; that is, in the abortive expedition, intended for the relief of Thouars, which set sail in August, 1372, but returned a month or two later without having effected a landing. Of his second marriage with the lady of Pulford we hear from one of Scrope's witnesses, Sir Maheu Redeman. The evidence I have thus epitomized supplies us with the following

## THE ANCESTOR

*Supposed Pedigree*

Now there are evident difficulties in accepting this story as it stands; but the first question is, what evidence did Grosvenor produce in its favour. The answer is simple. For the tradition there is evidence enough and to spare; for the truth of it, none. To support such a case we might expect to find an enormous mass of documents—charters, pleas, fines, registers, chronicles and what not. The Abbot of Vale Royal refers to a chronicle, but it was not put in; not only is the fact categorically asserted by the other side, but when, on the appeal, special requisition is made to the constable of England



for this authority, he denies all knowledge of it. All he has to transmit is a chest containing nine charters, and these, to judge by the expressions used about them, were intended to prove the arms and not the pedigree. Eight, we are told, were sealed with the bend; and none of these is likely to have been older than the thirteenth century.

When therefore the other side reply that the abbot *ad forge un discent encountre verite . . . saunz monstren ascuns cronicles ou autres munimentz ou evidences autentikes par ceux il purroit proever le discent suisdit & est impossible & increable q' homme de tiel age ou de tiel estat duist proever ceo qil ad depose . . . par soun bouche*, there is but one word to which we can take exception. In the mouth of an advocate the word *forge* was not without justification under the circumstances; but the impartial historian must hesitate to use so strong an expression, for reasons which will presently appear. Not that a Vale Royal chronicle would in any case be of much authority; for the abbey was not founded until about 1270. Praers' 'muniment' has already been described. Holford is usually put forward as heir general of the Lostocks; but from the extinction of the male line their pedigree and the devolution of their estate are alike involved in obscurity. Though mesne lords of Hulme, the Holfords sprang from the second marriage of the heiress; and she seems to have had male issue by her former husband. At all events the manor of Lostock Gralam has not been traced to them; so that the deponent was not likely to be in possession of evidences relating to the progenitor of whom he speaks.<sup>1</sup> Thus the earlier part of the pedigree rests upon nothing but tradition—confused, but not baseless tradition, as I hope to show.

Not a word, be it observed, of the 'honourable and powerful office of Le Grovenour,' or Grand Huntsman to the Dukes of Normandy, as others have called it. The court of France boasted its *Grand Veneur*; but the office, as Anselme says, *n'est pas fort ancien*, dating from the fifteenth century. Before that time there had been a *maître Veneur*, or *maître de la Vennerie*, as early as 1231.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no evidence that such an official existed in Normandy, or in England, at the conquest. In Cheshire there were several forest serjeanties held by Kingsley, Silvester, Davenport and others—one actually by a Grosvenor; but these were purely local, not court appointments.

<sup>1</sup> Ormerod, i. 670; iii. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Anselme, viii. 683, 694.

Several writers again have commented on the form of the name; the difficulty of rendering *le Gros*, or *Grossus*, in the sense required. Whoever heard of the office of Grosscamerarius, or Grossocancellarius; of Grosmareschal, or Grosbotiller?<sup>1</sup> Not a word either of the Grosvenor at the battle of Lincoln, the Grosvenor who went on crusade with King Richard, or the Grosvenor who fought at Crecy and Poitiers.<sup>2</sup> The last at all events could not have been forgotten. A number of Scrope's witnesses were at Crecy themselves; but they all declare they had never heard the name.

However, it is time to examine more closely the tradition which was actually current at the time of the trial. And first, as to the arms, Grosvenor clearly affects to prove too much. The same must be said of Scrope's case also; but that is another story. The system of heraldry, as we know it, was no doubt of gradual growth; but it is generally agreed that hereditary arms cannot be traced in this country much further back than the end of the twelfth century. Even for the leopards of England no higher antiquity is claimed. The Earls of Chester, as we have seen, furnish another example. Yet here is a family of comparatively obscure position pretending that their arms date from before the conquest.

Indeed, if coming with the Conqueror mean that they were among the invaders of 1066, there is reason to doubt whether Grosvenor or any of the Cheshire families can claim as much. Beyond, perhaps, a nominal submission, the palatinate probably remained unconquered until the expedition of 1069. Hugh de Avranches was only made earl a year or more later, and with all England at his disposal, there must have been some reason why William should leave so near a kinsman to wait four or five years. According to some authorities, Hugh was a mere boy at the first invasion, and joined his uncle in England at a later time,<sup>3</sup> and this reckoning the date of his earldom would certainly support. What then of Gilbert Grosvenor? It does

<sup>1</sup> It should be mentioned that *Grauntvenor* is twice reported—once in Randle Holmes' copy of the Vale Royal Ledger Book, MS. Harl. 2064, f. 276; once in an Arley Charter, as printed by Mr. Beamont. But the other form is practically universal.

<sup>2</sup> Ormerod, iii. 146, apparently from Sir P. Leycestre's MSS. Collins gives no authority. When Najara in Spain is mentioned, the nature of the error cannot be in much doubt, for several deponents say Scrope was there.

<sup>3</sup> Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*. *Recherches sur Domesday*.

sometimes happen that a nephew is older than his uncle ; but the story is that they came together.

Hugh, at any rate, with his palatine earldom, and estates in many counties besides, was now handsomely provided for, and had broad lands to bestow. Yet, if the tale be true, how shabbily he used this nephew of his. Strange also that Gilbert should receive nothing whatever from the king, with whom, as the earl's nephew, he would be not distantly connected, though we may ignore the theory of an office at court. Contrast his position with that of another Gilbert, also called a nephew of Earl Hugh—de Aquila, the baron of Pevensey. Compare his miserable moiety of Lostock with the estates which the barons of the palatinate received, or even with those granted in more settled times by later earls as a reward for good service, to le Roter, for instance, or to Fitton. But indeed Gilbert is made altogether a landless man, for even the moiety in question was only granted—if we are to believe Holford—to Robert his son. We shall find that not without a certain significance.

By reference to Domesday, we can surely settle whether the story is true or false. Now Domesday knows nothing either of Grosvenor or of de Ronchamp, the alleged tenants of the two Lostocks. Indeed it has no mention of Lostock at all. At a later time both Lostocks are found to be members of Weaverham, the capital manor with which King Edward endowed his abbey of Vale Royal. Grosvenor, for his moiety, paid the abbey a rent of 17s. a year and 2 pigs, with suit of court at Weaverham, finding 4 men to serve in the Welsh wars, when Weaverham found 8, and when 6 or 4 in the same proportion. He also found a doomsman for the court of Weaverham on behalf of the town of Lostock, viz. his own moiety and the other.<sup>1</sup> In Domesday Weaverham is rated at 13 hides, Lostock no doubt being included, just as subordinate manors were included in the 7 hides which Mascy held in Eastham, these expanding afterwards into Bromborough, Bidston, Saughall Massey, Morton and Claghton. In other words, Lostock was still in the earl's hands, and had never been granted out. There remains a possibility that Hugh Lupus might have made the alleged grant later than Domesday ; but clearly it was not made at or soon after the conquest. As a matter of fact, we find evidence that Grosvenor's estate there was acquired several generations later.

<sup>1</sup> Ledger Book. MS. Harl. 2064, ff. 258, 273 seq. 275, 281.



One word more and I leave the abbot's pedigree for the present. We have seen that it rested simply on tradition : we have found that all the evidence is against it. Probably enough has been said to destroy our faith ; we shall be no more ready to accept it as history than was the court of chivalry. An assertion, I know, has been made that at the trial Grosvenor's descent was handsomely acknowledged, though Scrope was found to have a better right to the disputed arms. There is however nothing in either judgment to justify such a statement. The only words which seem to tell at all in the defendant's favour are those I have quoted from the constable's sentence, awarding to him the differenced coat. These speak for themselves : it is clear to me that no such interpretation can be put upon them.

Now for the facts, so far as they are known to us. The earliest Grosvenor in history lived about a century later than the Conquest. His name was Robert, and he received a grant of land from Earl Hugh. But the earl was not Hugh Lupus ; nor was the property Allostock. In 1806, when Dr. Ormerod copied it, the original charter was in the Earl of Shrewsbury's collection.<sup>1</sup> Hugh Kevelioc was Earl of Chester from 1153 to 1181. Ormerod originally fixed the date as before 1160, in the belief that the first witness died that year ; but finding that he had misread Brooke, withdrew that date in a subsequent note. By this charter Hugh Earl of Chester grants to Robert Grosvenor the whole town of Buddeworth, a moiety of his vert and venison in the forest of Mara, and a moiety of the custody of his dogs. The witnesses are Richard son of the Earl of Gloucester, William Patric, Ralph son of Warner, Randle the priest of Bunbury, Gamel Peverel and William Malbanc. This was Budworth in the Frith, or Little Budworth, on the border of the forest, in which, to judge by his name, the grantee was previously acting as an officer of the earl.

From Robert descend the Grosvenors of Budworth, and I have no doubt the Grosvenors of Hulme and Eaton as well. The pedigree of the former line is anything but clear ; however there is no occasion to follow them very far. Ormerod next cites a precept of Randle (de Blundeville) Earl of Chester (1181-1232), summoning Alice, 'widow of the first mentioned Robert,' and William de Stretton, her husband, to answer Robert Grosvenor, grandson of the first Robert, concerning

<sup>1</sup> Ormerod, ii. 211.

his (*sic*) claim to dower on Budworth, said to be made contrary to an agreement between Randle Grosvenor of Budworth, his father, and Robert son of Robert le Grosvenor, brother of Randle. This statement is reported to be taken from that mysterious source, the Cheshire Domesday, and appears in a very unsatisfactory form. Unfortunately it cannot be verified, being earlier than any of the existing Plea Rolls, and we must make the best of it. Probably it will be safe to accept as a fact that Robert Grosvenor (that is to say, either the grantee of Budworth, as Ormerod assumes, or possibly a successor of his) had issue two sons, Randle and Robert, and that Randle died before 1232, leaving Robert his son. This last Robert was recently dead in May 1241, when Margery, his widow, had dower assigned to her, and a grant of the custody of the heir.<sup>1</sup>

According to the pedigree given by Ormerod (or Mr. Helsby), Robert was succeeded by a son named Richard. But in 1270 Warin le Grosvenor was the forester ;<sup>2</sup> no doubt the same Warin who made purprestures in the forest to the extent of fourscore acres 'after the death of the earls' (i.e. later than 1237), and was bailiff of Darnhall 'before the abbey came there' (before 1270 or 1273).<sup>3</sup> Richard le Grosvenor, it is said, in 1295 held a knight's fee (elsewhere it is half a knight's fee) in Budworth en le Frith. Ormerod (quoting Collins) refers for this statement to the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, but I have failed to trace his reference, there or elsewhere. However it is supported by the further statement that, in 23 Edward I., Richard, son and heir of Richard le Grosvenor, was suing Richard Done for his share of the forestership.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile a Richard Grosvenor, son of Randle, had acquired an estate at Hulme in Allostock. The authority for this is a deed quoted by Ormerod from Sir Peter Leycester's MS. collections—the first of a series which enabled him to set out in considerable detail the pedigree of the Grosvenors of Hulme.<sup>5</sup> By this deed Gralam de Lostock grants, for his homage and service, *Richardo filio Ranulphi Grossovenatoris* the whole of the land in Hulme within the hedges which Richard

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* i. 343, 351.

<sup>2</sup> Pleas of the Forest, in Ormerod, ii. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Vale Royal Ledger Book, MS. Harl. 2064, ff. 254, 276.

<sup>4</sup> A somewhat suspicious circumstance is that an inquisition was taken upon a Richard Grosvenor in 23 Edward III., and Richard was his son and heir.

<sup>5</sup> Tabley MSS. book C. ff. 120 seqq.

son of Maurice and David son of Adam held, with common of pasture, etc., to hold of the grantor and his heirs; the witnesses being Richard de Sonbach, Richard de Wibbenbury (then sheriff), *Roberto Grossovenatore*, Randle clerk of Ruston, Randle de Horton, Roger de Kegworth, Adam parson of Limme and Hugh de Bostoc. 'This purchase,' our author naïvely remarks, 'has been often mistaken for the first settlement of the Grosvenors in Allostock.' We will venture at all events to assume that it represents the 'manor of Hulme' held of John de Holford long afterwards by Sir Robert Grosvenor at the time of his death, and valued at 10 marks per annum.

Ormerod (following Sir Peter Leycester) dates the above deed 1234.<sup>1</sup> Gramam de Lostock occurs elsewhere in 1241.<sup>2</sup> There need therefore be no difficulty, so far as dates go, in supposing the grantee to be a son of Randle Grosvenor of Budworth, of whom we can only say that he died before 1232, and younger brother of Robert Grosvenor, the witness. Putting aside all preconceptions based upon the received tradition, this would seem to be the natural conclusion. In 1247 Richard has a release from Richard de Chornoc of two bovates of land in Hulme; and in 1269 (the dates are still Sir Peter Leycester's) makes an agreement with the prior of Norton concerning the service of the chapel at Nether Peover.

Not long afterwards he died, and was succeeded by a son Robert (styled in several deeds Robert son of Richard le Grosvenor),<sup>3</sup> about the time that the abbey of Vale Royal was founded and endowed with the capital manor of Weaverham. Robert it was who acquired the estate in Allostock, described later as the manor of Lostock or Allostock, and thus became a tenant of the abbey. Three deeds are quoted: one from Richard son of Richard de Lostok, a second from John son of Alan de Lostock granting all his lands in Allostocke, and a third from Adam de Merton granting all his lands in Allostock in exchange for other lands; Margery wife of Robert Grosvenor being named in the last. These three deeds are not dated, but one of them is reported to have been enrolled in 1284. Robert appears in Ormerod's list as sheriff of Chester, 12-16

<sup>1</sup> See also his list of sheriffs. The official list, recently printed, gives none for Cheshire at so early a date.

<sup>2</sup> *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.*

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Helsby finds in a copy of the Cheshire Domesday a grant to him from Richard le Vernun and Mabel his wife, of all their land in Bexton, and dates the deed 1270-4.



Edward I. (1284-7); and we found in the depositions that he died a hundred years before the controversy with Scrope (circa 1286), and was buried at the Friars Minors in Chester.

His son, also named Robert, was a minor in 1293, when there was a dispute about his wardship between Richard de Lostok and the abbot, settled by a concord in the abbot's favour, Henry de Lascy Earl of Lincoln (as chief lord of the other party) apposing his claim. At the same time Margery, the widow, was suing the abbot for her dower.<sup>1</sup> In March, 1305, being then of age, he did homage to the abbot for his manor of 'Lostoke,' on Saturday after the feast of St. Edward king and confessor, 33 Edward I.<sup>2</sup> A year later he joined with his wife, another Margery, in executing two trust deeds of his estates. As sheriff of Chester he witnesses two deeds (dated 1-5 Edward II., between 1307 and 1312) now in the Record Office,<sup>3</sup> but has not been included either in the official list of sheriffs or in Ormerod's.

At this point a serious difficulty arises. According to all the pedigrees, and the deponents' statements, the last Robert was great-grandfather of Sir Robert Grosvenor, the defendant in 1386, and this was his grandfather, who married Emma Modburlegh, and lived until about 1340. But there is an entry in the Ledger Book of Vale Royal that in 1328, on Saturday after the feast of St. Richard bishop and confessor, Robert le Grovenour of Ruddheth did homage for the manor of Lostok.<sup>4</sup> If we are to accept this statement—and it cannot be lightly ignored—it means that the depositions as well as the pedigrees are wrong; that one generation has somehow been left out; and that there were three Roberts in succession instead of two. Further, the dates involve a certain awkwardness. Assuming the second Robert to be no older than twenty-one when he did homage in 1305, and that Sir Robert stated his age accurately at fifty in 1391, the great-grandson would be only fifty-seven years younger than his great-grandfather; or in other words, sons were born in three successive generations when the fathers were under twenty years of age. Even that, improbable as it may seem, is not altogether beyond the bounds of possibility.

<sup>1</sup> Chester Plea Roll, No. 7, mm. 1, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ledger Book, MS. Harl. 2064, ff. 275, 281.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient Deeds, B. 1843, 1845.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Harl. 2064, f. 258. The date 1328 is inserted in the text; or one might conjecture that 2 Edward III. was an error for 2 Edward I.

But if Sir Robert was really born in 1341, it follows that he was over thirty years of age when he did homage to the abbot for his lands in 1373;<sup>1</sup> and no doubt some deduction is to be made from the round number fifty which he gave as his age; whilst it is likely enough that the homage of 1305 was similarly deferred, at any rate for a year or two. What we know for certain is that the second Robert was born between 1271 and 1284, Robert of Rudheath earlier than 1307, his son (as it will appear) before 1322, and his grandson before (no doubt several years before) 1352. For my own part, I am inclined to stand by the Ledger Book and insert an extra generation in the pedigree.

Robert Grosvenor of 1305, then, I put down as dead in 1328. This was the companion in arms of William de Modburlegh in the Scotch war under Edward II.; but it was his son who married William's daughter. The marriage had taken place before 1323 (16 Edward II.), when she is named as his wife; and the fact that he is described as of Rudheath may be taken to imply that he had a home of his own during his father's lifetime. With Emma de Modburlegh—as coheir of her mother Maud, daughter and heiress of Robert Downes of Chorlegh—came a share of lands in Chorlegh and Werford. Her father's estate, on the death of her half-brother without issue, passed to a sister of the whole blood. She survived her husband, and in 16 Edward III. (1342) made a grant of land to Ralph her son and Joan his wife, and another to Robert her younger son. In 20 Edward III. (1346) she was named in a conveyance of lands in Lostock Gram and elsewhere made by John de Ruddeheath to Ralph Grosvenor; and, according to the depositions, was still living about 1366. Ralph died in or before 30 Edward III. (1356, the year of Poitiers), when (as we have seen) on the point of starting for Picardy.

Sir Robert, we already know, while still a minor, married a daughter of Sir John Danyell, or Danyers, and accompanied his father-in-law to France in 1359–60. His subsequent services, under the Black Prince and Sir James Audley, come just ten years later; but he may have spent much or all of the intervening period in Guienne, as he did not pay homage to the abbot for his lands in Lostock until 1373. He was then a widower, his wife Margaret having died in June 1370, as he himself states in 1391, when called to prove the age of

<sup>1</sup> MS. Harl. 2064, ff. 260, 281.

John son of Sir Thomas Ardern, the occasion on which he gave his age as fifty.<sup>1</sup> By a second marriage with Joan, the heiress of Pulford, he considerably improved the position of the family, securing with her a title to the manor of Pulford, an estate in Dunham Massey, and other lands besides; but, in consequence of subsisting life interests, the bulk of this property was first enjoyed by their son Sir Thomas Grosvenor, who was born in 1377.<sup>2</sup> Joan had previously been married to Thomas Belgrave, and had children by him, whose fate is somewhat of a mystery.<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert was sheriff in 1389 and again in 1394-5, and died April 22, 1396.<sup>4</sup> Upon his grandson's death, the estate was divided among coheirs; but through Ralph Grosvenor of Eaton, a younger brother of the last Grosvenor of Hulme, the male line has since been continued. It will be convenient here to tabulate the probable pedigree, which is therefore set out on the next page.

Here then are the two versions of the story: one based upon documentary evidence, such as we have, the other pure tradition. Placing them side by side, it is not hard, I think, to trace the genesis of the fable. A grant by Earl Hugh to Robert Grosvenor admittedly laid the foundation of the family fortunes. The fact lived in their memory; and in the course of time the beginning of their own history became associated with the beginning of all local history—the epoch of the Conquest, the creation of the palatinate; and their recollection of Hugh Kevelioc was lost in the overshadowing personality of Hugh Lupus. What could be more natural? But further, the great earl himself is depicted, in history and legend, as a *gros veneur*—at once a mighty hunter and a man of huge bulk, Hugh Vras, as the Welshmen called him. The conclusion is inevitable: he and no other was the original *Grossovenator*; and the man who took that surname, since he could not well have been a son, must have been at least a nephew.<sup>5</sup> True,

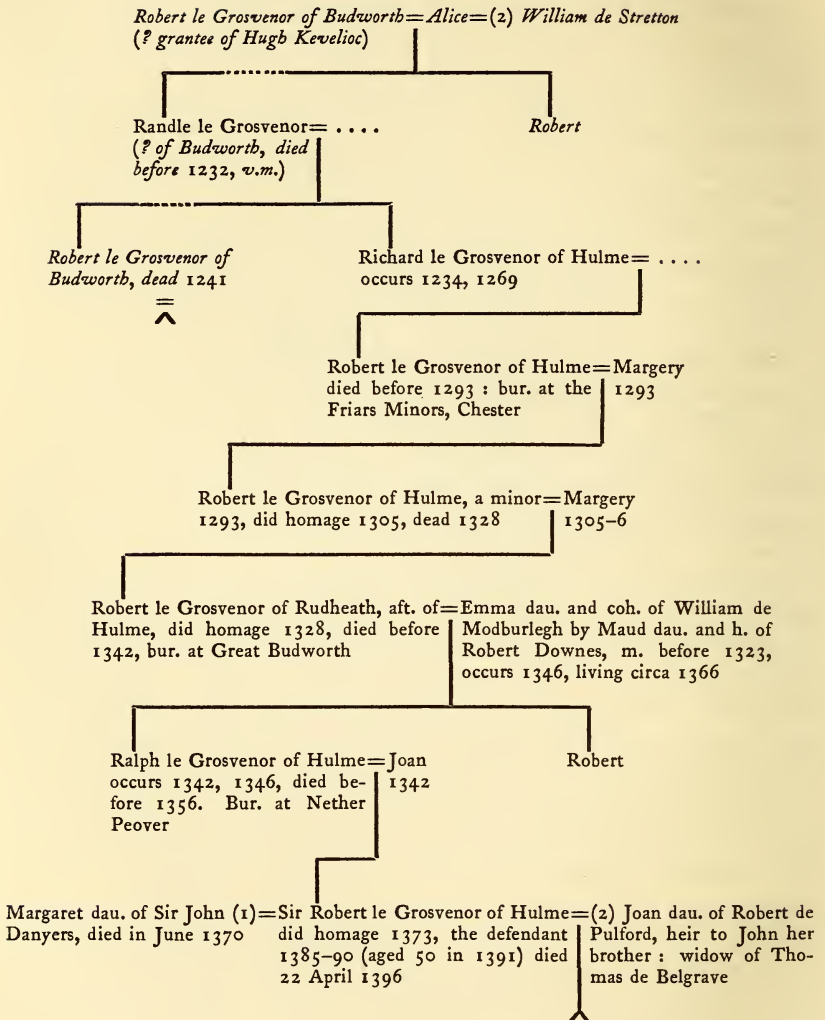
<sup>1</sup> Ches. Inq. 15 Ric. II. No. 7. It would appear that he was in England in the spring of 1370.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 22 Ric. II. No. 14, 8 Hen. VI. No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> I have discussed this subject in a paper on the 'Representation of the Barons of Dunham' in the *Genealogist*, n.s. xvi. 16. Joan Pulford's grandmother, Katherine Dutton, was a granddaughter and one of the coheirs of the last Sir Hamon de Masey.

<sup>4</sup> Ches. Inq. 19 Ric. II. No. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Where so much is obscure, there is always a possibility of some actual affinity between Robert Grosvenor, or his unknown wife, and Hugh Kevelioc. The same earl very likely was grantor of Lostock as well as of Budworth.



*Probable Pedigree*

when it comes to a detailed pedigree, the difference of a century or so should involve chronological difficulties. But recklessness in regard to dates has been the besetting sin of genealogists. The abbot evades this question altogether; and the rough test of reckoning the average number of years to a generation would be as foreign to his methods as the attempt to fix accurately the birth and death of the persons he named would be hopeless.

At the time of the trial, the Grosvenors had already been seated at Hulme a century and a half, and lords of Allstock for three or four generations. That was long enough to obscure the memories they brought with them from Budworth, and transfer the tradition to their own manor. Budworth, it should not be forgotten, was granted to Robert Grosvenor, and it was a Robert also who acquired Allstock. In the interval they had increased their estate until they were of more consequence than the original stock, and, with a confused tradition of their origin, believed themselves, and were believed to be, the elder line. Recently the representation of the family at Budworth had passed to a female, so that they were the less likely to be contradicted. Not that there is any occasion to suggest imposture. Even in these critical days, with a Registrar General and books of reference without end, who has not met with honest people cherishing some fond delusion about their origin and connections?

After all, the curious thing is that the abbot's pedigree was so nearly right. Later attempts have not always improved upon it. Eliminate Gilbert and Henry, provide Richard with an elder brother, and clear up the question about the three successive Roberts, and nothing remains to correct. But what of Gilbert, who came with the Conqueror? He may be accounted for in this way. In early Cheshire documents we frequently meet with men called *Venator*, as if it were a surname. There was however no family of any position in the county, so far as we know, who adopted it permanently, either in the Latin form, as *le Veneur*, or as *Hunter*.<sup>1</sup> The abbot, therefore, or others examining deeds and ancient records, if aware of the Grosvenor tradition, might easily be led to suppose that in these names they found confirmation of it, and that *Venator* meant Grosvenor. The *Gilbertus Venator* of Domesday,

<sup>1</sup> See however W. Beamont, *Arley Charters*, xxxvi.

since no Robert appears there, was thus impressed to do duty as founder of the family.

Put baldly thus, after what has gone before, the assumption may not sound very convincing. But it is one that modern writers have evidently made; for instance, the anonymous author of the *Norman People in England*, and the Duchess of Cleveland in her *Roll of Battle Abbey*. Collins, not content with embracing also *Radulphus Venator* of Domesday and the foundation charter of St. Werburgh's (known to be the brother of Hugh son of Norman, and ancestor of the barons of Mohaut) and *Ranulphus Venator* of Earl Richard's charter, invades a neighbouring county to lay violent hands on Ulger le Grosvenor, as he calls him, who was in command at Bridgnorth Castle in 1102. This turns out to be Ulger *Venator* of Bolas, of whose family an account may be found in Eyton's *History of Shropshire*. But Collins followed Wotton; Wotton relied upon information supplied by the Sir Robert Grosvenor of his time; and Grosvenor, in all probability, upon the work of the earlier Cheshire collectors and genealogists, one of whom, Sir Peter Leycester, we know, had access to the Hulme muniments, and largely availed himself of them.<sup>1</sup> The assumption, it would thus seem, is one of respectable antiquity and some persistence.

Nor would it necessarily be always wrong. If not a family surname, *Venator* must designate an office, and one which some of the Grosvenors held. A *Stephanus Venator*, said to be also called le Grosvenor, occurs in the Arley Charters and elsewhere, and seems to be the same person as Stephen de Merton. Now the Mertons too appear as foresters (or perhaps deputies) in Mara; they had interests, as we have seen, in Lostock; and their arms were azure with three bends silver—highly suggestive of Grosvenors' coat, differenced for a cadet.<sup>2</sup> A wholesale

<sup>1</sup> Comparing the account in Wotton with that in Ormerod, there can be little doubt that Sir Peter's collections are the source of both narratives. Which of them is to blame for so embroidering the abbot's plain tale, I am not in a position to say: for the present the burden of suspicion must be shared between Wotton, his informant, and Sir Peter.

<sup>2</sup> Their history begins with a deed of Earl Randle (de Blundeville), inaccurately copied in MS. Harl. 2074, f. 170. By this the earl grants (or confirms) Merton and the office of usher in his household (*hostiarius in domo meo*) to Ran' de Mereton filio Ranul', *fofariario* *fideli meo*. Ormerod printed this word *forestario*; but the context suggests that *hostiario* is the correct reading. Merton was subsequently given up to Vale Royal, in exchange for Gayton in Wirral



application however of this interpretation would not do. For example, a *Ranulphus Venator*, who gave Cattenhall to pious uses,<sup>1</sup> is called in later inquisitions the lord of Kingsley; that is to say he was Randle Kingsley, the other forester of Mara.

And so with Gilbert. He held none of the lands found soon after in possession of the Grosvenors; but it is needless to labour the point, for there can be no question who he was. Newbold, Brereton, Kinderton, Davenport, Witton, Blakenhall, with a share in Sinderland and Baguley—these are all among the Venables lordships, Kinderton indeed the *caput baroniæ*, and at once prove his identity with Gilbert de Venables, named in the same survey as lord of Eccleston, Alpraham, Tarporley, Wettenhall, Hartford, Lymm, High Leigh, Winsham, Mere, Peover, Rostherne and Hope. Not a landless man exactly, this Gilbert: a baron and founder of a baronial house; a substantial person enough, albeit himself, as slayer of dragons and a reputed scion of the house of Blois, on the borderland between history and legend. The obscure owner of Budworth, or of a moiety of Lostock, was clearly no heir of his.

The same assumption may possibly have led the Grosvenors, in the first instance, to adopt the *bende dore*. The name le Veneur was not uncommon in Normandy, and French writers tell us that a bend azure was borne with that surname by Norman families.<sup>2</sup> We may easily suppose that one of the Grosvenors, or kinsfolk and neighbours of theirs from Cheshire, passing over to Normandy on some occasion, happened to meet with le Veneurs there, and claimed relationship, as an American travelling in this country might do. We are not always logical even in these days. The reversal of colours would be quite in accordance with precedent; and a vague knowledge that similar arms were borne by presumed kinsfolk across the Channel was pretty certain to give rise to the idea that they were originally brought over from Normandy—with the Conqueror of course. If my conjecture be wrong, the similarity of the Norman coat and name is certainly a curious coincidence.

and Lache upon Rudheath; the king adding the bailiwick of his hundred of Caldey; and there again, as at Hilbre and Meoles, the Grosvenors had some interest, hitherto unexplained (Ormerod, ii. 176–80, 498, 516; iii. 145 and note).

<sup>1</sup> Ormerod, ii. 98.

<sup>2</sup> La Roque, *Maison d'Harcourt*, ii. 1180, seq. See also Anselme, viii. 256, seq.; and compare 311, 683, 685; also vi. 661.

Who, then, was Robert Grosvenor? Was he a descendant, though not heir, of Gilbert Venables? If so, we might expect to find him holding land under that baron by sub-infeudation. Was he a corpulent le Veneur fresh from Normandy? Of that there is no indication. He need not have been Norman at all. The Domesday tenant of Kingsley, the lordship which gave his colleague in the forest a surname, was one Dunning, who, before the Conquest, held also Oulton Lowe, Greasby and Storeton. The foresters, his successors, were not improbably his heirs; they are found to be mesne lords of Oulton Lowe as well, attributed in Domesday to Nigellus (de Burceio), as were Greasby and Storeton. Storeton afterwards belonged to the forester of Wirral. The Davenports again, in Macclesfield forest, trace back their pedigree to an early Orm, whose name was not unknown in that part of England before the invasion. Mr. Round, in his Introduction to the Hampshire Domesday, has pointed out that, in that county, 'of the huntsmen most were English.'<sup>1</sup> A poacher, it is said, makes the best gamekeeper. To appoint men of native origin to these offices, and make them responsible for enforcing the forest law, may have been found convenient, or even a matter of settled policy. To base a theory upon these suggestions would be rash, but hardly more rash than to infer Norman blood from a French surname.

Whatever their origin, the vitality of the legend is remarkable. Not merely has belief in it been kept green at Eaton, as the great equestrian statue before the house and the baptismal names of the late duke testify, but perhaps no other story of the kind is as widely known and credited. The court of chivalry, with its suggestions of romance and pageantry, aided no doubt by the ever growing wealth and importance of the family, has made a deep impression upon the public mind. The Scropes are almost forgotten. Cheshire can boast several families, Venables and Vernon, Massey and Mainwaring, which undoubtedly spring from Norman invaders, and bear names brought with them from lordships beyond the sea. Yet for one person to-day to whom these names have any meaning, twenty would be ready to say that the Grosvenors came over with the Conqueror.

W. H. B. BIRD.

<sup>1</sup> *Victoria History of Hampshire*, i. 425.

## AN 'AUTHORITATIVE' ANCESTOR

IN my *Studies on Peerage and Family History* (p. 68) I ventured to ask the question: 'What authority can there be for "Sir Geoffrey de Estmonte, Knight, of Huntington in county Lincoln" being one of "the thirty knights who landed at Bannow in 1172," as alleged in *Burke's Peerage*? As a matter of fact there is, and could be, none whatever. The statement, however, is repeated and even defiantly amplified in the 1902 edition of *Burke's Peerage*. Its respective versions are as follows:—

1901

SIR GEOFFREY DE ESTMONTE Knt. of Huntington co. Lincoln, accompanied Strongbow in the invasion of Ireland A.D. 1172, and was one of the thirty knights who landed at Bannow co. Wexford.<sup>1</sup>

1902

SIR GEOFFREY DE ESTMONTE (OR ESMONDEYS) Knt. of Huntington co. Lincoln, now called Honington (which he gave in 1216 to the Priory of Stixwold), accompanied Strongbow to the Conquest of Ireland A.D. 1172, and was one of the thirty knights who landed at Bannow co. Wexford.

To those who may take the editor at his word and accept these statements as 'authoritative' I may explain (1) that this landing took place in 1168 or 1169, not in 1172; (2) that its leader was not Strongbow (who had not then set foot in Ireland) but a man called Robert FitzStephen; (3) that there is no list of the names of those who followed him.<sup>2</sup> These are not matters of opinion; they are matters of historic fact. It was recently announced that Sir Thomas Esmonde, at the head of whose pedigree in *Burke* the above statements are found, 'will endeavour to secure' from the Government 'promise of a special department for prosecuting research into

<sup>1</sup> The above statement was introduced into the work between 1885 and 1889, and therefore in the lifetime of Sir Bernard Burke.

<sup>2</sup> The authority for this landing is Geraldus Cambrensis, who in his chapter headed 'Adventus Stephanidæ' writes as follows: 'Robertus Stephani filius . . . cum triginta militibus de proximis et alumnis suis . . . circa kalendas Maii in tribus navibus apud Banuam applicuit' (Ed. *Rolls Series*, v. 230).



Irish history.’<sup>1</sup> There is a touch, surely, of Hibernian humour in suggesting that any such research is needed, when an Irish herald is able to state that the ancestor of an Irish baronet landed at Bannow with Strongbow, though history has forgotten to record the fact, and has further shown that, if the ancestor was there, Strongbow himself was not.

But I have now to deal with the developed story in *Burke* for 1902. Attempting to ignore my book and the demonstrations it contained of the true character of his production, the editor assures his readers, more loudly, if possible, than ever, that they may take its statements as ‘authoritative.’ I am obliged to quote his very words :—

It is gratifying to the Editor to know . . . by the flattering comments of the Press, and the host of letters from critics well versed in genealogy and heraldry, that *Burke's Peerage* not merely maintains its high position of so many years' standing, but is gaining in reputation from year to year, and is considered authoritative on the subjects with which it deals . . .

To keep this huge mass of information abreast of the times and to make it complete and accurate in every particular has been my endeavour, and no trouble or labour has been spared to accomplish this aim . . .

My especial care has been to achieve accuracy and completeness, and the testing of all facts by research and investigation has been an undertaking of much labour difficult to realise.

We are now going to test by research the authority at last vouchsafed for the fact that Sir ‘Geoffrey de Estmonte’ ever existed. One has only to refer to the ‘Monasticon’ under Stixwold (v. 275) to find that a document professedly printed from a Hundred Roll of 3 Edward I. (1274–5) states that land at Honington had been given, sixty years before, to Stixwold by Geoffrey ‘de Ezmondeys’; but as this document is immediately followed by another version in which the name is given as ‘Ermondeys’ and as, moreover, there is no trace of any Esmonde having ever had anything to do with Honington, we are led to investigate the matter. So we turn to the ‘authoritative’ Hundred Rolls published by the Record Commission. We there at once discover that the name is ‘Ermondeys.’<sup>2</sup> Having thus obtained the correct reading we examine the ‘Monasticon’ narrative and find that it makes Honington consist of twelve carucates, of which seven and a half had been

<sup>1</sup> Leading article in *Morning Post*, Jan. 23, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Magister et moniales de Stikeswold tenent duas carucatas terre in Huntingdon, que valent per annum quatuor libras, de Galfrido de Ermandeys’ (Rot. Hund. i. 393).

given to Stixwold a hundred years before, by Lucy mother of Ranulf Earl of Chester, while the other four and a half were held of Gilbert de Gaunt, and had been given to Stixwold by his under tenants Alexander de Crevequer and Geoffrey de 'Ermondeys,' the latter's holding being the smaller of the two. The narrative is obviously loose in details, for Lucy had lived and made her gift considerably more than a century before; but the division of Honington into three parts is right and is essential to remember.

Honington, which lies a few miles north-east of Grantham, is a place of which the early history presents no difficulty. Its whole assessment was twelve carucates, when we meet with it in Domesday Book, this being in the Danish district the typical assessment of a vill. We find it, in 1086, divided into two unequal portions, of which the larger was held by Ivo Taillebois, and the smaller by Gilbert de Gand. At the time of the great Inquest of 1212<sup>1</sup> these two portions were respectively held by their successors, the Earl of Chester and Gilbert de 'Gaunt.' The former's fee is returned as seven and a half carucates and the latter's as four and a half, thus accounting between them (as in the 'Monasticon' narrative) for the whole twelve carucates.<sup>2</sup> But Gilbert had divided his own share between two under-tenants, namely, Henry de 'Armenters,' who held of him twelve bovates (one and a half carucates) as a quarter of a knight's fee, and Alexander de Crevequer, who held of him twice that amount (three carucates), as half a knight's free. A generation later, in the survey assigned to 1243, we find Honington divided into exactly the same portions, which are now entered as having all passed to the 'Master of Stixwold.' He held there half a fee of Simon de Crevequer who held under Gaunt, and a quarter fee of Geoffrey de 'Armenters' who held under Gaunt, together with 'all the rest of Hundington,'<sup>3</sup> which had been given to his house by the Earl of Chester's predecessors.

<sup>1</sup> See, for this, my paper on 'The Great Inquest of Service (1212)' in *The Commune of London and other Studies*, pp. 261-77.

<sup>2</sup> 'In Hundington de feodo com' Cestr' VII caruc' terre et IIII bovatē quas illi de Stikeswald habent de dono antecessorum comitis.

In eadem villa sunt IIII carucate et IIII bovatē de feodo Gilberti de Gaunt unde Henricus de Armenters tenet XII bovatās pro IIII<sup>ta</sup> parte feodi unius militis, et Alexander de Crevequer tres carucatas pro servicio dimidii militis' (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 348). Eight bovates went to the carucate.

<sup>3</sup> 'totum residuum illius ville de Hundington' (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 323).

This brings us to the Hundred Rolls, some thirty years later, and to the 'Monasticon' document. Here again we have Honington divided into three portions, and only three, of which one was held of the Earls of Chester and the other two of the 'Gaunt' fief. Of these two one was held by the Crevequer family throughout, as half a knight's fee,<sup>1</sup> and their name is correctly given in the 'Monasticon' and the Hundred Rolls. The other (which is the portion of Honington with which alone we are concerned) was similarly held throughout, as a quarter of a knight's fee, by the family of Armenters or Ermenters.<sup>2</sup> It is this last name which has been corrupted into 'Ermondeys' and which the daring of a pedigree-maker has eventually converted into 'Estmonte.'<sup>3</sup>

We have, happily, the highest evidence of all for the true name of the house which gave its land at Honington to Stixwold. The original charter of donation is preserved at the British Museum (Eg. Ch. 427), and by it the twelve bovates, which, the *Testa de Nevill* has shown us,<sup>4</sup> were the holding of the Armenters family, are given by David 'de Arment(er)iis' to Stixwold. In the legend on the fine seal attached to this charter the name is given in bold letters as ARMENTIRS. The Museum authorities assign this Charter to about 1150, so that the donor may well be identical with that David who held no fewer than ten knights' fees on the 'Gaunt' fief (then

<sup>1</sup> This enables us to localize the half knight's fee held by Reginald (de) Crevequer on this fief in 1166 (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 383).

<sup>2</sup> These two forms of the name were used indifferently at the time. Thus, at Cranwell (a few miles north-east of Honington) which the family held also of the Gaunts, the same man is described as Geoffrey 'de Ermet's' and 'de Armet's' in two consecutive entries (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 319), so also we have 'Ermenteres' and 'Armet's' in *Rotulus de oblatiis et finibus*. The same alternative forms are found on the other side of the Channel.

<sup>3</sup> Although the corruption of the name on the Hundred Roll has been demonstrated by record evidence, it may be as well to mention that an equally wild corruption of it appears on the corresponding Hundred Roll for another Wapentake (3 Ed. I.) where we read of the family's holding at Cranwell, not far from Honington, that the Templars of Temple Bruern held—

'unum feodum militis in Cranewell . . . ex dono Gerardi (*sic*) de *Ermycers* qui tenuit illud feodum de Gysilbrycht (*sic*) de Gaunt.

. . . et elemosinatur ex dono Gerardi (*sic*) de *Ermycers* elapsis C annis, qui quidem Gerardus tenuit de Gysilbricht de Gaunt' (Rot. Hund. I. 278).

Here we have the same loose reckoning of 'a hundred years back' as on p. 191 above. The *Testa* (p. 319) gives us the right version, by which the Templars hold 'de dono Galfridi de Arme(n)t(er)s.'

<sup>4</sup> See p. 191 note 2 above.



in the hands of Earl Simon) in 1166.<sup>1</sup> These fees were widely scattered, for four of them were in Northamptonshire, where Kislingbury and Stowe were held by this family under Gaunt, as was also a manor at Ewelme in Oxfordshire. It can be proved from Domesday (56b) that the 'Robert' who held of Gilbert de 'Gand' at Ewelme and at Handborough in the same county in 1086, was Robert 'Armenteres,' so that the family must have come to England with this powerful Fleming at the Conquest. It is probable therefore that they derived their name from the Armentières in Flanders which is now a place of some importance in the 'Nord.'

I have set forth in this detail the true descent of Honington in order to establish beyond dispute the grotesque falsehood of the statement set forth in *Burke's Peerage*. The authoritative founder of the Irish Esmondés, 'Sir Geoffrey de Estmonte' of Honington, proves to have been a Geoffrey de Armenteres (Armentières), who had no more to do with the Esmondés than I have. And this is proved by the very evidence which is produced by the editor himself to establish Geoffrey's existence!

It is sometimes urged against me that one ought not to treat seriously statements which would only be found within the covers of 'a Peerage book.' But no impartial reader can, I think, deny that so long as *Burke's Peerage* is published with the insignia of an Ulster King of Arms upon its title page, the uninstructed public will treat it as quasi-official, or that as long as its editor assures them, on the strength of letters from highly qualified (though unnamed) correspondents, that the statements it contains are 'authoritative,' that assurance will be widely accepted. Indeed, I need only cite at random a notice of the current issue from the *St. James' Gazette*, where we read that, in the hands of the present editor, 'it has increased its reputation for accuracy, notably in the genealogical department.' This, it will be seen, simply echoes the editor's own assertion, but will doubtless be included in turn among 'the flattering comments of the Press.'

<sup>1</sup> He is oddly disguised as 'David de Armere' (*sic*) in Mr. Hall's official edition of *The Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 383), though Hearne, the eighteenth century editor of the same 'carta' had acutely pointed out that the name (which is 'Arm' in the 'Liber Niger') should be extended as 'Armenteres vel Armentiers sive Armenteres.' We can hardly, therefore, congratulate ourselves on the prospects of 'Advanced Historical Teaching (London).'

It is more than a quarter of a century since the late Professor Freeman insisted in strenuous language that he was fighting, not the families who believed in fables about their own origin, but the editors who published these fables and assured their readers that they were true. And he selected *Burke's Peerage* as the worst case of all, on account of the official status of Ulster King of Arms. In some respects that work to-day is even more open to severe criticism than it was then. For it is not now sinning in ignorance; it is sinning against the light. There is, for instance, perhaps no grosser fiction in the field of English genealogy than the descent of the Ely Stewards from 'the Royal Stuarts' of Scotland, together with the appurtenant bogus grant from a French king. This was exposed long ago by Mr. Walter Rye from the English, and Mr. Bain from the Scottish side. Yet, it was actually added, in the 1900 edition, to the other 'authoritative' statements contained in *Burke's Peerage*. The introduction of this known imposture was pointed out and denounced by me more than a year ago in *Studies on Peerage and Family History*; yet this and other fables there exposed are deliberately repeated by the Editor as 'authoritative' in the current issue. I venture to think that a comparison of this plain fact with the statements quoted above from its preface will prove to the readers of *The Ancestor* not a little instructive and will render any further comment superfluous.

J. HORACE ROUND.

## THE GRESLEYS OF DRAKELOWE

ALTHOUGH it is now some time since this important family history made its appearance,<sup>1</sup> there are more reasons than one for reviewing it in the opening number of *The Ancestor*. In the first place, it was issued so privately that copies were only obtainable by subscription, and consequently no review of it has hitherto appeared. Secondly, it deals with a house of quite exceptional antiquity, whose tenure of their ancestral lands is, in some respects, unique. Thirdly, as a genealogical undertaking, it deserves a leading place among the works that have appeared of recent years in this department of research.

The most notable features in the Gresley descent are the origin of the family as a branch, it is believed, of the Norman Toenis; their tenure in the Conqueror's days, as barons or tenants-in-chief, of Drakelowe, which is still their seat; and their possession of one of the surviving baronetcies of the first creation (1611). As to the last, one may fairly say that their inclusion in the ranks of the baronetage reflects distinction on that degree, and is an interesting testimony to the character of the class from which it was originally recruited. And although, as compared with their Norman descent, a title which is not yet three centuries old may appear but modern, it must be remembered that even in the peerage the number of titles which have now been held so long in the male line is by no means large.

The two first of the interesting features we have mentioned above are precisely those, unfortunately, which occasion the two difficulties in the history of this family. It was asserted in the Duchess of Cleveland's *Battle Abbey Roll* that 'One branch of the royal Toenis still flourishes in the male line; Nigel de Toeni, or de Stafford, a younger brother of the standard bearer's, held Drakelowe . . . at the date of Domesday.' And even Mr. Eyton, who mentioned this belief, did not reject it. Mr. Madan, we think, is the first to admit—and the admission is a proof in itself of his praiseworthy

<sup>1</sup> *The Gresleys of Drakelowe*, by Falconer Madan (privately printed.)



caution—that actual proof is wanting for the relationship of ‘Nigel de Stafford’ to his alleged brother Robert de Stafford, who was an undoubted Toeni. Indeed, he holds that ‘there is no evidence whatever of this (fraternity), and chronological probabilities are against it.’ Falling back on ‘more or less probable conjecture,’ he suggests as a likely solution that Nigel ‘the great *crux*,’ as he terms him, ‘of the Gresley pedigree,’ was a son, rather than a brother, of Robert de Stafford. The problem must, we fear, be left in this condition, nor is it likely that evidence enabling us to solve it will yet come to light. As to the chronology, however, one may offer a small criticism, because the point is one which others may be glad to note. Mr. Madan argues from the fact that two of Nigel’s sons, ‘William and Nicholas, are alive in 1165.’ The experienced student of genealogy will hesitate to reject an assertion as impossible on the ground of chronology alone; but it is, on the face of it, suspicious that William and Nicholas should be living some eighty years after their father’s appearance as lord of Drakelowe, nor can we find any evidence in Mr. Madan’s pages that they were.

This correction removes a difficulty in the way of accepting the early pedigree. Mr. Madan reminds us that ‘the century and a half after the Domesday Survey of 1086 is the darkest of all the byways which the genealogist has to tread,’ and this is more especially true of the first half of that period. It is therefore peculiarly satisfactory to have such excellent evidence for the first few generations, though the fact that the great-grandson of the Domesday lord was living 130 years or more after the Survey reminds us that there is always the possibility, where Christian names recur, of a generation having been omitted, as indeed is sometimes the case in pedigrees at a much later date.

A far more difficult question is that of the descent of Drakelowe, of which no really satisfactory explanation has yet been given. In Domesday it is held immediately of the king, but we find it subsequently held of the mighty house of Ferrers—with which the Gresleys appear to have been associated from the first—by virtue of a special grant from King John. Sentiment would make one desire to prove that the tenure of Drakelowe by the Gresleys had been continuous from the Conquest; and Mr. Madan does his best to prove that this was so; but it is frankly admitted even by him



WALSINGHAM GRESLEY.

D. 1633.





that 'the actual history of Drakelowe between Nigel's time and 1200 is matter of conjecture.' We venture therefore, after carefully considering all the available evidence, to question the solution Mr. Madan suggests, even though it seems to have the support of so well qualified an authority as General Wrottesley. The evidence afforded by the Pipe Rolls appears to us inexorable. In the roll of 1171 (17 Hen. II.) we find that certain lands belonging to the Honour of Lancaster had been granted out to 'Willelmus filius Walkelini' and 'Nigelus de Gresel[ega]'; it is certain that these lands were at Stainsby and Drakelowe respectively; and it is no less certain, if we may venture to say so, from the rolls of the preceding and earlier years, that these lands had not been granted out before 1170-71 (17 Hen. II.). Both estates, we may add, are afterwards found as serjeanties, held by similar tenures, and it can hardly be doubted that these tenures originated both at the same time, namely in 1170-71. We are quite unable to admit that the Nigel who obtained Drakelowe at that date was the Domesday lord thereof, his name being retained in error; nor, one must add, is that Domesday lord ever styled Nigel 'de Gresley.' There was admittedly a Nigel de Gresley living under Henry II., and one is forced to conclude that it was he who obtained this grant of Drakelowe. It is a singular fact that, at some period not long subsequent to Domesday, the family lost several of its manors and gained others instead. General Wrottesley suggests that this was the result of an exchange, and to those who know how frequent was exchange even in the Conqueror's reign the suggestion must appear highly probable. He holds, it is true, that they retained Drakelowe; but as it is admitted that they migrated to Gresley, which was among the new manors they obtained, and that the son of the Domesday lord derived thence the surname which his house has borne ever since, it is obviously probable that Drakelowe was included in the manors they exchanged for others; and indeed the legend of 'the devil of Drakelowe' points, as Mr. Madan sees, to the manor having come into the hands of Roger of Poitou (lord of the Honour of Lancaster) not long after Domesday. The curious 'service' of rendering arrows and a quiver, by which it was held in the thirteenth century, was transferred, under John's charter spoken of above, to Ferrers Earl of Derby as overlord. It is noteworthy that among the tenants of that same mighty house we find also the

ancestors of two of our oldest families, those of Shirley and of Curzon.

Apart from their exceptional antiquity the Gresleys are of much interest as a typical English knightly family taking part in local affairs and, when occasion came, in national warfare, generation after generation. Geoffrey de Gresley appears to have fought in an Irish expedition under King John, and to have acted for a time as constable of the famous castle of the Peak. Another Geoffrey 'took a full share in the Barons' war of 1261-5, and shared in the disasters which befell them after the battle of Evesham, Aug. 4, 1265.' Service abroad and service in Scotland fell later to the share of this 'Sir Geoffrey' (as he became), whose seal shows him 'on horseback, facing the dexter side, bearing a shield vaire in his left hand and in his right an uplifted sword,' the trappers of his horse also displaying the arms of his race. Yet he found time, in two Parliaments, to serve as knight of the shire for his county, though we can well believe that he 'seems to have found difficulty in settling down as a country squire.' Of his son Sir Peter we read that 'there is hardly a record of himself or his family which is not concerned either with hard fighting or other equally violent but less legitimate conduct.' We are tempted to quote this amazing record of the performances of Sir Robert Gresley, one of his younger sons; and incidentally we may observe that it illustrates the extraordinary care with which Mr. Madan has traced throughout the careers of the younger sons and of the daughters of the lords of Drakelowe.

The assizes record ten charges against him between 1320 and 1348: one of trespass, two of riot, three of robbery, and no less than four of murder. . . . His methods of evading the consequences of these misdeeds do honour to his ingenuity. In July, 1333, for his services with the king's army in Scotland, he obtained a general pardon for all felonies, and . . . flourished this useful document in the face of the judge and jury when accused of having six years earlier robbed the parson of Walton. On another occasion he remembered that he was a 'Clerk,' and said that he could not answer the charge without his Ordinary!

Turning from this catalogue of misdemeanours, we find Sir Robert representing Derbyshire in the Parliament of 1340; fighting in Scotland both in 1333 and 1335; summoned to Ipswich with his brothers Edmund and Roger for foreign service in November, 1338; and serving in Aquitaine under the Earl of Lancaster in 1346, when he probably took part in the siege of Calais (1346-7).

The wild old Norman blood seems to have had much to



PORTRAIT ASSIGNED TO SIR GEORGE GRESLEY, K.B.





answer for ; but how vividly such a life as this brings the age before us, how it clothes with flesh and blood the dry evidence of records which the patient industry of General Wrottesley has placed at the student's service ! It is thus that the history of a family may minister to that of the nation, may teach us, as nothing else could teach us, the stirring stormy character of the Middle Ages in England.

'In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,' we read, 'the Gresleys were wealthy landowners with influence and position in all the three counties which converge near Drakelowe' ; and indeed, about the end of the fourteenth, we find Sir John Gresley granting to his grandson all his manors in six counties. This grandson, Sir Thomas, was seven times returned as knight of the shire, and was 'almost certainly' present with his brother Sir John at Agincourt, and one of his daughters had the curious distinction of being nurse to King Henry VI. Lancastrian at this period, the Gresleys appear to have gone over to the White Rose in 1452, when Sir John took up arms for the Duke of York ; but he did not become a decided Yorkist till after the accession of Edward IV. Like his son Sir Thomas after him, he skilfully contrived to retain his estates and position through all the troubles of the time ; and William, the latter's son and successor, who signed himself 'Wyllyam Greysseley squyer,' was knighted at Lille by Henry VIII. in 1513, in reward doubtless for gallantry in the French campaign of that year.

When we come to Leland's day (circ. 1540) we find him writing of Sir George Gresley's 'very fayre mannor place and parke at Draykelo.' Sir George's son William was knighted at Queen Mary's coronation, and his grandson Thomas at the accession of James I. This brings us to Sir George, the first baronet. It is a striking fact that every one of his direct ancestors for twelve generations had received the honour of knighthood, a 'record' which, one would imagine, could not well be exceeded, if indeed it was equalled, by any others of those who received the new dignity. It was not unnatural therefore that he should have been one of those baronets of the first creation who protested on behalf of their degree against the king's decision on their precedence. If the portrait here reproduced, which has hitherto been assigned to the Sir George who died in 1548, is really that of the first baronet at the age of thirty, it must have been painted, we

may note, about the time of his creation (1611).<sup>1</sup> But it might be that of his father. A hint as to its date is afforded by the rings in his ears—two, it will be seen, in each—the more elaborate earrings worn by his younger brother Walsingham being possibly due to his residence in Spain, where he was attached to the British Embassy from 1619 to 1624.<sup>2</sup> Sir George, who sat in the Parliament of 1628–9, was ‘the only gentleman of qualety’ in Derbyshire who sided strongly against the king. He joined Sir John Gell’s regiment, and the Royalists plundered his estates. These estates had been grievously diminished in the days of James I., the family having suffered doubtless, like others, from Elizabethan extravagance.

Of his great grandson the third baronet, whose portrait we give, we read in a letter written in 1696 that ‘Esquire Bill of Drakelowe went a wooing into a far country, but his mistress was not much smitten with either his phiz or beau meene; however he made shift to captivate the heart of a widow; . . . the knighterrant is resolved, and says, “Zuns will have her and that quickly too, for hunting is coming in and cannot awhile.”’ It is from a brother of this baronet, who received his mother’s manor of Seile in Leicestershire, that is descended the present line, who only succeeded to the title in 1837, but had intermarried with the elder line a generation previously. For the last two centuries the history of this ancient house has been mainly of private or local interest, its chief incidents being found in spirited but unsuccessful attempts to promote the industries of the district, with the result of further diminishing their once wide estates.

Nearly half of this elaborate work consists of Appendixes and Index. The first Appendix deals with the castle, church and priory of Gresley, of which the last was a house of Augustinian canons founded by the family, while residing at Gresley, not later than the middle of the twelfth century. A ground-plan of the priory is given, and Mr. Madan’s untiring industry has enabled him to work out the succession of

<sup>1</sup> A high authority has attributed the two portraits named ‘Sir George Gresley’ to the latter end of the Elizabethan period. Federigo Zuccaro, to whom the portrait of ‘Sir George Gresley, K.B.’ (d. 1548) is assigned, was a child at the date of his supposed sitter’s death.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Students of costume will observe the same fashion in the portraits of Prince Henry and Prince Charles (1614 ?) among the Belvoir miniatures illustrated in this number.





SIR WILLIAM GRESLEY, THIRD BARONET.



priors (not, as he says by a slip, 'of abbots'), and to describe its seal and arms. The next Appendix is devoted to the manors and possessions of the family, an alphabetical list of which covers several pages. This is a most careful piece of work, and of course a valuable contribution to county history. So extensive were the lands of the Gresleys that some might easily be overlooked, and we observe that there is no mention of Eastwell, where 'Gresley's fee' consisted of 2 hides and 3 bovates, held under Ferrers, as is proved by the Croxton Abbey evidences printed in Nichols' *Leicestershire*. On the other hand, we have our doubts about Thorpe Constantine. The fact that Nigel, its Domesday holder, occurs as Nigel 'de Torp' suggests that he was not identical with Nigel 'de Stafford.'

Appendix C brings us to the arms, seals, crest and motto of the family. The arms are a most interesting example of a derived coat, the *Vaire ermine and gules* of Gresley being clearly, as Mr. Madan says, a variation of the Ferrers coat, *Vaire or and gules*. These arms first occur on a Gresley seal of 1240, though the series of family seals of Drakelowe actually begins in the early years of the thirteenth century. The snares that beset the path of the unwary genealogist are admirably illustrated by the next Appendix, which introduces us to two families who seems to have existed for the express purpose of being confused with the Gresleys. One of these is Greasley of Greasley, whose *stammbaus* was little more than twenty miles from Gresley; the other was a great feudal house, Grelly, baron of Manchester. The second of these names often occurs as Gresle or Greslet, but can, we think, be distinguished from Gresley by the 'de' which precedes the latter. Mr. Madan, it is true, states that Domesday mentions 'Albert de Grelly,' but the actual form is 'Albertus Greslet.' A century later (1185) the *Rotulus de Dominabus*, which he appears not to have consulted, contains frequent mention of Albert 'Gresle,' 'Greslei,' or 'Gresley,' and Robert his son, the evidence proving that they were both born at earlier dates than Mr. Madan imagines. It was Robert, we may add, whose officer at Swineshead (Lincolnshire) was thrown by him into prison and bound in chains, till, calling on the names of St. Edmund and St. Audrey, he was miraculously delivered by the royal martyr like St. Peter before him. In the last Appendix Mr. Madan deals in true scholarly fashion with the materials employed by him in writing this notable book. Those



who devote weary years to the pursuit of the elusive ancestor will envy the lords of Drakelowe their singular good fortune in possessing such materials for their pedigree as few families can show. We may specially mention the original muniments, 500 in number, 'ranging from about 1150 to 1676,' a family Bible containing contemporary entries from 1649 to 1886, an old notebook rich in genealogical matter, and the 'Gresley Chartulary,' which preserves the contents of 331 ancient deeds. As Mr. Madan truly says, 'A family chartulary is not a common thing,' and taking the documents at Drakelowe as a whole, they are possibly unsurpassed as a collection for the history of a family. Mr. Madan explains that they found an indefatigable student in the Rev. J. M. Gresley, whose collections from these and other sources have formed the basis of his own undertaking.

We have yet to speak of the tabular pedigrees appended at the end of the volume. These are no fewer than seventy-three in number, including as they do many families with which the Gresleys intermarried. They appear to be taken in the main from printed sources, but manuscripts in certain libraries and family papers and information have also been employed. Drakelowe, as is observed in the preface, is near the borders of Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Leicestershire, and the Gresleys 'have formed connexions by marriage with the leading families' in each. Sir Robert Gresley contributes, on Drakelowe itself, a chapter of great charm and interest. Although the park extends to nearly 600 acres, the chief attraction of the place, we learn, is found in the gardens, 'many of the hollies and yews lining the walks being well over 30 feet in height,' while the rose garden has an eighteenth century air. The house itself is full of heirlooms, among which are the family portraits, from which we are enabled, by special permission, to reproduce a selection. For this courteous permission we desire to express our thanks. Such is the home of this ancient stock, scions of which are now to be found in the new Englands beyond the seas. Sir Robert Gresley, in his closing words, alludes to 'that patriotic spirit in which, in times of stress and danger, the gentlemen of England have never been found wanting.' These words were written on the eve of a war which has tested and proved their truth; and ancient names answered to the call from the ranks of regiments of horse.

J. HORACE ROUND.



PORTRAIT ASSIGNED TO SIR GEORGE GRESLEY, FIRST BARONET.





## THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS

These handsomely-equipped volumes<sup>1</sup> form the first instalment of what promises to be an interesting and valuable series of 'histories of those families which have more especially contributed to the development of Great Britain and Ireland.' In the course of a brief introduction Windsor Herald, the editor of this series, claims that hitherto no complete or satisfactory history of the Douglas family has been produced. And it is true that the delightful work of Hume of Godscroft is not only fragmentary but essentially uncritical in method; whilst the four goodly volumes of the late Sir William Fraser's 'Douglas Book,' besides being printed for private circulation only, were conceived (like most of the work of that late eminent genealogist) too much in the spirit of the courtier. We should be loth to tax Fraser with errors for which he cannot justly be accounted responsible, and in the present volumes, in dealing with the question of the first Earl of Douglas's complicity in a secret treaty with England—the first hint of opposition by a Douglas to his sovereign—Sir Herbert acquits Sir William of 'an unsuccessful attempt at special pleading,' on the ground that the *Issue Roll* for the year 1363 was not before him when he wrote. But should any one wish for a specimen of Fraser's courtly extenuations, let him compare the account of the battle of Melrose (1526), as given in the 'Douglas Book,' with an account of the same battle in *The Scotts of Buccleuch*. In the existing circumstances, the qualities specially to be desired in the present history were, on the one hand, impartiality, on the other, accuracy; and in respect of these qualities, so far as we have tested it, Sir Herbert's work leaves nothing, or little, to be desired. Moreover the author writes a terse and perspicuous style, and deals with his documents and authorities in the manner of an expert.

Of comparatively little that is positively new in his volumes, his theory regarding the first known ancestor of the Douglases is perhaps the most striking item. Instead of rejecting Gods-

<sup>1</sup> *A History of the House of Douglas*, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart. (London: Freemantle & Co., 1902).

croft's tradition of yeoman's service rendered in battle by the first Douglas to an obscure king, he shifts the date some four centuries down the ages, substitutes William the Lion for Solvathius, and shows reason for regarding the incident as plausible. Interesting, also, is the evidence he brings forward as to the origin of the family. It was not to be expected that a difficulty which had so far baffled the genealogists would now be resolved; but Sir Herbert narrows the issue as to reduce it to an alternative—that of derivation from a Flemish colonist, an ancestor held in common with the house of Moray; or from a native chief of Clydesdale who had received a charter of his hereditary lands. The balance of probability, based upon a passage in Wyntoun's *Chronicle* (B. viii. c. 7), and upon community of nomenclature and heraldic insignia, inclines to the former alternative.

For the author's treatment of the history of the earlier Douglases we can find nothing but praise. Coming down, however, to the classic period of the Black Douglas—the Cid of Scottish history—it seems to us that he has missed a literary opportunity. We have spoken of his style as admirably clear; it is also lighted up by no infrequent gleams of humour—as, for instance, when he tells us that Sir James Douglas died, in 1420, 'of influenza,' an epidemic whose nature was not understood by the faculty, and which was vulgarly spoken of as 'the Quhew,' 'just as at the present time we may hear it spoken of as "the flue."' But the story of the 'Good Sir James'—endeared as it has become to every Scottish schoolboy through Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*—called for other literary qualities than those of the mere expositor. And, truth to tell, at this point Sir Herbert's narrative strikes us as bald and matter-of-fact. This is the more surprising as the author has obviously a special interest in feats of martial prowess, in the treatment of which he often shows peculiar skill. Also, later on, when he comes to treat of George and Willie Douglas, and of Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven Castle, he shows somewhat of that picturesqueness, imaginative insight and literary grace which he so entirely misses in what ought to be a Romancero at once delightful and veracious.

Again, in his narrative of Otterburn, his scientific scepticism strikes us as excessive and uncalled for. The dying words of Douglas have been accepted, in slightly varying forms, by every authority from Froissart to Fraser; was it reserved for

Maxwell to throw doubt on them? Admitting Wyntoun's assertion that the earl's death was not known to his army until the next morning, is not the inference plain that, for obvious reasons, it was kept a secret by those who had witnessed it? Had it become known, its effect on the *morale* of the troops might easily have been disastrous. Once more, as regards the Cavers House relics—most treasured possessions of the house of Douglas—Sir Herbert's treatment of these is positively cavalier, for he dismisses them in a note. As to the pearl-embroidered gauntlets, the late Mr. James Watson, author of the *History of Jedburgh Abbey*, a pains-taking local antiquary who had approached the question with an open mind, had arrived at the conclusion of their almost certain authenticity, pronouncing them to be a love-gage captured from Hotspur at the lists of Newcastle. The pennon, or pencil, associated with the gloves, presents a more difficult problem. This has been dealt with by the Earl of Southesk, in a paper read before the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, since or just before the publication of Sir Herbert's volumes. Lord Southesk's conclusions are to the effect that the flag is a standard, and that it must have belonged originally to a Douglas, though more probably to one of the Angus branch than to a member of the original family. Hence it is argued that it may have come to the Douglasses of Cavers in 1452, when the head of that house was appointed keeper of Hermitage Castle. In assigning the kirk of Yetholm as the place of tryst prior to Otterburn, Sir Herbert contravenes all geographical probability. The place is called by Froissart 'Zedon,' but it is long since Robert White identified this with Southdean (locally Souden), eight miles south of Jedburgh. On the next page (i. 107) Sir Herbert has Portland for Ponteland, whilst on page 52 of the same volume he speaks of the barony of Bedrule in Roxburghshire as 'in Berwickshire.' We also suspect that he is in error when he follows Bain in identifying 'Lyliot Cross' with Lilliard's Edge, between Melrose and Jedburgh. Even at a time when the Border Line fixed in 1222 had been blurred by English aggression, Lilliard's Edge was not a likely place for the holding of March meetings. More probable is it that the identity of Lyliot Cross (like that of Campespeth, so prominent in the *Leges Marchiarum*) became forgotten when the place ceased to be specially resorted to.

I have preferred in this brief review to deal exclusively



with the most glorious period of the Douglas history, for after Otterburn the Douglases lost a rose from their chaplet (that of loyalty), as after Arkinholm they may be said to have lost the chaplet itself. But Sir Herbert brings his history avowedly down to the Legislative Union, and actually down to the death of 'Old Q,' at the age of eighty-six, in the year 1810. That the author shows no lack of sympathy with his subject may be judged from his concluding paragraph, which we transcribe:—

'What's in a name? Much, it seems; for it has come to pass that we are inclined to expect more of one bearing that of Douglas than of people bearing less historic surnames. In these pages the virtues of individuals have not been inflated, neither have their foibles been screened nor their evil doings glozed. The record stands as the various actors have left it. They suffered, and they made to suffer; they served, and they made others to serve. Now they rose to the highest levels of patriotism and loyalty, and anon sank to the dark and crooked ways of treason and dishonour. A masterly purposeful ambitious breed, their influence cannot have been for ill on the destiny of their country, seeing what a large share of power lay ever in their hands; and no family has furnished more material towards the ideal of a Scottish gentleman.'

The illustrations are well chosen and excellently reproduced, the tinted drawing of the Regent Morton and the photogravure of 'Old Q'—a lean, nervous Black Douglas of the decadence—being especially noteworthy; but the gaily-coloured heraldic plates seem to hide a febleness of design under their bold black outlines. A tabular genealogy, even if but a skeleton '*pee de grue*,' is a crying need in these volumes; without it one wanders without a clue down this gallery of Douglases. The points to which we have taken exception are small; whilst in conclusion we take pleasure in acknowledging that by his admirable, conscientious and sympathetic work Sir Herbert Maxwell has earned the gratitude of all bearers of the name which it illustrates.

GEORGE DOUGLAS.

## POPULAR HERALDRY—BOOK MAKING

The name of Mr. Joseph Foster is well known to all antiquaries as that of a painstaking compiler of books of reference. One of these, the *Alumni Oxonienses*, a record of the admissions to Oxford colleges, is a monument of industry, and for the English genealogist is almost without doubt the most useful book of reference which has yet come to the bookshelves. His less fortunate *Peerage and Baronetage* will be remembered for the honest mistrust with which many of the legendary beginnings of our great houses were regarded in their pages. With such a record behind him, it is the more pity that Mr. Foster should have permitted himself to embark upon another great scheme to which beside his unfailing industry he has no quality to bring. The making of such a book as *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*<sup>1</sup> demanded a measure of modest scholarship with which Mr. Foster has not equipped himself, a certain patience of research he seems unable to condescend to, and an appreciation of that colour of the middle ages of which Mr. Foster throughout his pages shows himself incapable. In this case the compiler has set himself the work of an antiquary whilst disdaining an antiquary's training. Mr. Foster's preface and introduction show him jubilant, and even though he were in mood to learn, the applause with which this work has been received by a press singularly ill informed in archæological questions will convince him that there is at least no commercial reason for the antiquarian book compiler to do so. It is this very applause which moves us to review in some detail a book which, otherwise an unimportant one, will by reason of its impressive size and weight inevitably thrust itself amongst English archæological books of reference.

Passing the frontispiece of a bronze shield found in the Witham bearing the outline of a boar, which seems, according to Mr. Foster, to be our 'national symbol,' and one of those decorated title pages which, in our country at least, seem foredoomed to artistic mishap, we come to the preface and

<sup>1</sup> *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*, by Joseph Foster, Hon. M.A. Oxon (James Parker & Co., Oxford and London, 1902).

Mr. Foster's reasons for this book. These would seem to be an honourable rivalry with another popular heraldry book compiler, the editor of *Armorial Families*, and a desire to save the postulant of arms from the necessity of consulting the heralds, who, 'having sold practically all their ancient manuscripts or copies of them,' can hardly hope that their effete institution will keep pace with Mr. Foster. For Mr. Foster has access to the public libraries, and is prepared to publish beautiful pictures of the arms of those 'Men of Family' whose modest claim to arms is bounded by 'a user of three generations,' which is comforting reading for the fortunate 'Man of Family' whose grandfather used a crest upon his teaspoons.

It is before this Man of Family and before the Student that this large book described as the first instalment of its author's 'labours in the domain of heraldry' is placed. The Man of Family, elate at the near prospect of publishing to the world the proud blazon which has descended to him in a right line from his grandfather, will be uninfluenced by such criticism as we have to offer, but to the Student who might be tempted to rank *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* with Mr. Foster's earlier works of reference some words of caution may not come amiss.

After the preface Mr. Foster's 'Heraldic Introduction,' ushered in with flowery periods concerning the nature-worshipper and the vases of the Greeks. 'Surely in the nature-worshipper we detect the heraldic protoplasm. . . . Further down the ages it may well have been the bards of every clime who handed down in turn these mystic emblems in their own weird way, inventing as they went the almost forgotten chimera and other monstrosities which were to strike terror into the hearts of the adversary.' Passing the Greek vases, five illustrations of which are allowed to assist us in our study of feudal coats of arms, and 'the totems and other personal distinctions so commonly employed amongst nations of imperfect civilization,' Mr. Foster is soon quoting Mr. Fowke on the *Bayeux Tapestry*, illustrations of which run in instalments along the tops of the pages.

Heraldry proper is at length introduced :—

With the spread of feudalism, then, came the introduction of the linear or geometrical, and from the imaginary per pale, per fess, per chevron, per saltire, etc., would naturally be evolved, the pale, the fess, the chevron, the saltire. *Out of this fortuitous combination of some of the elements of Euclid with the objects of the nature-worshipper sprang that system we call heraldry.*



Here in a few terse and highly enigmatic lines we have the beginnings of our heraldry set before the Student, and that by Mr. Foster speaking not of his own authority alone but, as the footnote assures us, with the grave authority of 'Jane MacNeal's' article on 'Heraldry, its Laws and its Humours,' in *Munsey's Magazine*. Mr. Foster's next paragraph deserves quotation at length.

Although there is evidence that heraldic bearings were assuming a definite form in the reign of Stephen (1135-54) it is not a little remarkable that Richard I. is the first English king who is known to have adopted an heraldic bearing. On his great seal (1189) he bore the two Lyons for the Duchies of Normandy and of Poitou or Maine. In his second great seal (1198) he added a third Lyon for the Duchy of Aquitaine, or, as some say, for Anjou; this has since been our national arms of dominion; according to Sir Henry Spelman (*Aspilogia*, p. 67), the earlier kings of England had marks or tokens painted on their shields, which they altered at pleasure. In this connection it would be interesting to know on what authority, if any, Brooke, York Herald described the Dering Roll as 'the names of those Knightes as weare w<sup>t</sup> Kinge Richard the firste at the assigge of Acon or Acres,' 1191.

Now Brooke, York Herald, is dead long syne, and in the appointed place for tabarded penitents he has doubtless purged his error concerning the Acre Roll, so unkindly brought neck and heels into Mr. Foster's interesting disquisition on royal heraldry. But Brooke, York Herald, was a wrangler in grain, and in his own day set many of his adversaries in awkward corners. Could his enlightened shade return we may imagine him countering the story of the Dering Roll by asking Mr. Foster why, in days when information on such matters is poured even from such humble vessels as the little manuals of popular heraldry, he should be content to hand down a story long since nailed to the counter and already doubted by some of Brooke's contemporaries. Mr. Foster, in effect, proclaims his belief in the legend that the ancient Dukes of Normandy bore one 'Lyon' and 'the Dukes of Poitou or Maine' another 'Lyon,' which with one more 'Lyon' for 'Aquitaine or Anjou' makes three, and our royal arms are accounted for in a fashion which satisfied our ancestors before archæology began amongst us. But one is inclined to doubt whether Mr. Foster has ever seen the seals which he explains so glibly, for if he has he should surely know that upon the first seal of Richard I. appears a single lion rampant crowded into the visible half of his shield by the primitive convention by which the lion of Flanders is thus represented upon some of the seals of the counts.

The difficulties which the study of early heraldry presents to the student whose knowledge of it is bounded by the covers of one of the aforesaid popular manuals are allowed to occupy two paragraphs and no more, the author being content to record his opinion that the early arms painters were careless fellows, who in their wanton ignorance of the rules of heraldry which were to be laid down after they had passed away have puzzled and worried Mr. Foster.

Nor must we omit to mention the cross moline, patonce, patée and flory, which are often confused, or imperfectly drawn, by the herald-painter. So with the cross moline, cercellé and recercellé, which are equally confounded in blason and in trick; even crosses crosslet are often drawn as crosses botonnée in early tricks, probably because it was easier to do so. In a less degree the bend, bendlet or baston, the quarter and the canton, fret and fretty, flory and florettée, often represent the caprice or indifference of the herald or the herald-painter of each particular roll.

The complaint that in ancient rolls the crosses are 'often confused or imperfectly drawn' translates itself into the fact that Mr. Foster has never grasped the early system of armory, and has therefore been 'often confused' by artistic conventions to which he has been unable to fit the vocabulary of his handbook. We deny that original evidences will be found for this confusion and indifference. In setting about this work Mr. Foster must have handled enough material to have learnt, had he been teachable, such elementary facts as that the crosslet which he is pleased to call a *cross botonnée* is not a form which carelessness sometimes substituted for the *cross crosslet*, but is the all but invariable convention in medieval art for the *cross crosslet* itself, and this not because it was 'easier to do so,' but because it was the more beautiful form. That a man should have examined a single roll of arms without learning that a quarter is the more ancient name, and the better name to boot, for what was in late heraldry called a canton is nothing short of amazing. What Mr. Foster understands by a fret is a late and debased form of the old fretty shape, which does not occur in early rolls, although it is to be found freely enough in the drawings which in the body of this book represent for Mr. Foster's subscribers the conventions of early heraldry. Flory and florettée have also no separate meaning outside the pages of the heraldry book makers.

In the one paragraph which is all that Mr. Foster, for patent reasons, is willing to spare for the discussion of the 'quaint

Norman-French' in which the rolls are written, most of the space is given up to the expression, in somewhat shambling English, of Mr. Foster's contempt for that newer school of antiquaries which is endeavouring to clear the difficulties heaped about the language of blazon. But that the work of such a school is needed is shown by our author having little or nothing to record of the 'quaint Norman-French' blazon beyond the fact that he 'gives up' each of the riddles it presents to him. To the vexed question of a reformed blazon Mr. Foster's contribution is found in his spelling of lion with a 'y' and achievement with a second 't.'

A notice follows of the seals of the barons who 'signed [*sic*] and sealed the famous letter to the Pope (Feb. 12, 1300-1) on his pretensions to the crown of Scotland,' a candidature which has escaped the historians. The seals are described as 'the earliest and most important evidence of the armorials used by the barons of England in the fourteenth century, or perhaps in the thirteenth century,' although as the letter was dated February 12, 1300-1 the 'perhaps' shows undue caution. From plaster casts of the seals our author is able to assure us that not only does it seem that many of the seals were engraved by the same hand, but also that they were engraved 'for the very purpose of this sealing,' which goes to show that the engraver was a rapid worker, and that the barons were a patient folk who wrote their letters to the Pope, even those on urgent public affairs, with quiet deliberation. Three only of the barons who are represented on horseback wear crests upon their helmets, which persuades Mr. Foster that the wearing of a crest on a helm 'was originally limited to those connected with the blood royal, or of the highest military renown, and was in effect the precursor of a much greater honour, *eventuating in the order of the Garter itself*'—a sentence to take away the breath of less imaginative antiquaries or of those pedants who look for some consecutiveness in an argument. In the margin beside this very sentence is the seal of Walter de Mouncey, who, unnoticed by Mr. Foster, bears a crest on his helm, although probably without Mr. Foster's approval.

With a last incoherent jeer at the College of Arms, which by this time may be considered as cowering in its chartered burrow, we approach the body of the book and the dictionary of the rolls of arms.

Let it be said that although an index to the ancient rolls of



arms is certainly needed by the Student, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* will not serve his turn, for it is very far from complete. It includes the contents of certain documents to which the compiler adjudges the title of 'Heraldic Rolls,' and of others which Mr. Foster can only rank as 'so-called Heraldic Rolls or Lists.' There is possibly some hidden meaning in this adjective 'so-called,' which guilty heralds will recognize and tremble at, but as both 'rolls' and 'so-called rolls' are equally lists of names and arms the distinction will be lost upon the public. It includes also the arms of those families which were included in Mr. Shirley's book of *Noble and Gentle Families*, and Mr. Foster seems prepared on the authority of their inclusion therein to credit the remote ancestors of these families with any arms which their descendants happened to be bearing in the reign of Victoria. Thus it would be difficult to find any ground other than the entry in Mr. Shirley's little book for the statement that 'Roger Oglander, *temp.* H. III., bore azure, a stork between three crosses crosslet fitchée or.' But many rolls of arms are missing from Mr. Foster's list, and some of these are of the first consequence as being contemporary records. One can understand that Mr. Foster would disdain to apply for permission to copy an ancient document which absurd chance has left in the custody of the College of Arms, but this excuse does not serve in the case of a famous roll at Oxford, nor in the case of other original rolls whose places of deposit are well known.

There are many instances of carelessness in this dictionary of arms, but criticism of such details in the case of a book upon which much work has been misspent would be a distasteful task. The lexicographical side is imperfect. For no reason we find Lisles indexed under De Insula, De L'Isle, De Lisle, Idle, Illey, Isle, Lisle and Lisley, and some of these entries refer to the same knight. Sir Reynaud de Boterels is treated as a stranger when he appears again as Renaud Botreaux, and Fouke Payfote is kept separate from himself in the guise of Fouke Peyferer. The compiler has never made up his mind whether the names should keep the original form or take that of modern English. Thus the knights are Sire or Sir followed by Christian names in Latin, French or English.

But it is not with such matters as this that we can occupy ourselves. Our complaint is that the whole dictionary is a work confessing in its every line that Mr. Foster is unequal to

the task he had set himself. A certain suspicion is aroused in turning over these pages that the author is not at his ease with the language or writing of an ancient manuscript, and is happier with a version in print or at least in the plainer hand of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Mr. Foster has evidently had the Boroughbridge Roll itself in his hands, and the present writer can testify that its handwriting, although somewhat faded, presents no difficulty to an expert; yet for a transcript of a portion of this roll Mr. Foster has to make use of the version printed by Palgrave. The Camden Roll is a unique instance of an original roll existing both in blazon and in colours, and this lies at the British Museum, and a facsimile is given of a piece of it. But for entries from this roll Mr. Foster is forced to make use of a seventeenth century copy, as is clearly shown by the fact that he gives the arms of Betune and Fenes with lions looking backward, an error which occurs only in the copyist's work. This is an error which no one conversant with early heraldry could have passed without comment, considering that in early *English* heraldry, lions are never found with their heads in this position, the earliest instance being probably in the well known Welsh coat of the 'three skulking lions.' After this it is possible to surmise that Mr. Foster's reason for omitting a certain famous roll of arms at Oxford from his collection was not unconnected with the fact that the roll is only accessible in its original form.

On the evidence of this book it might be questioned whether Mr. Foster had ever examined an ancient record. We are amazed to find him quoting an entry from a close roll of Henry V. beginning 'all such who had taken y<sup>e</sup> liberty of wearing cotes of armes.' The reference is thrust forward as 'Close Roll 5 H. V. (1417) *in dorso*, m. 15' to give a flavour of original research to the quotation, but when Mr. Foster sees a close roll of that period he will credit our statement that enrolments were not made at that date in Elizabethan English. After this we are not surprised to find Roger of Hoveden quoted as using the same 'quaint' language more than two centuries earlier still.

The rolls when in blazon being written in old French, it might be imagined that some knowledge of that language would need to be acquired for the purposes of such a book as this. Yet at the outset Mr. Foster shakes our confidence in his old French learning by indicating the word *wyfer* as an

unsolvable puzzle, and when such a word as *parmy*, used in no obscure context, is passed up as a discovered 'curiosity—worth consideration,' we begin to doubt whether he can have any French 'but of the furthest end of Norfolk,' and to glance through the book for examples of the errors which guesswork will produce. These are not far to seek. 'Foilles de gletuers' should be 'foilles de gletners' = burdock leaves, and the entry puzzles Mr. Foster under both of the surnames into which he splits the same family of Lisle. But a deeper pitfall has been stumbled into in dealing with the 'cheyne' or oak tree which is the punning coat of the well known house of Cheyndutt or Chenduyt. Two pictured versions are given of this shield. In the one the links of a stout *chain* hang from top to bottom of the shield. In the other something more medieval is attempted, and we have in place of the chain a narrow pale marked out with a pattern which suggests an ancient convention for a chain where it does not suggest a cribbage board. Another version of this unfortunate word turns up to worry Mr. Foster under the heading Okstede or Oakstead, a name which should have afforded a clue.

Mr. Foster's own view of blazon and his slight acquaintance with its earlier practice produce something short of chaos. His belief that 'fret' and 'fretty' indicated two separate chargings even in the middle ages makes him detect continual discrepancies between the pictured coats and the blazoned coats. For Robert Dene's slanting quarter, or quarter *embelif*, he invents a cumbrous blazon of *per bend sinister enbanced*! Checkered chiefs which are pictured with two rows only of checkers he calls *counter-compony* and essays to distinguish them from checkered chiefs. It troubles him to find that bends engrailed are found in pictures to be what he feels bound to call *bends fusilly* or *lozenges in bend*. *Burele* in the old French becomes the curious French-English *burulée*, and in such *burele* coats the author counts what he styles the barrulets with his pencil point and announces the result of his sum as though the number possessed some armorial significance. The fact that the family of Wodeburgh alone offers a differing total for each example found of their shield conveys no lesson to Mr. Foster. In the presence of an odd-looking charge even handbook heraldry sometimes fails him, and finding a blunt looking pile in a certain coat of a Kentish man he is driven to find words for it as 'a chief pily.' The



arms of the merchants of the Staple should be well known to an amateur of heraldry. We find them here as a shield borne by a knight called — Le Staple at the siege of Rouen! Benstede at Falkirk bore the curious cross of the lords of Toulouse, but Mr. Foster's picture is purely imaginary and an impossible interpretation of the blazon.

The eight or nine chart pedigrees which go to the making up of this book do not call for comment, as they are for the most part only skeleton pedigrees. The pedigree of Hunter-Weston has for a suggested ancestor at the top of its page *Norman the Hunter, circa 1080-1165*, an ancestor who should in this case have been omitted by a sworn foe of 'unscrupulous genealogy,' for a claim to descend from Nimrod would have been equally convincing and more difficult to challenge. Norman is followed by two other 'suggested' ancestors, the third being William Hunter of Ardneil who died 'about 1436.' Sixty-two years before he is recorded as obtaining by charter from the Crown the land 'which had been held by "Andre Cambell militis"!' a phrase which argues small Latinity in either the Crown or Mr. Foster.

There remains of this big book the side which doubtless has secured popularity for it. The public loves a big picture-book and here we have a very big one. Our Student however may be warned of the illustrations as of the text. The series of seals from the baron's letter, although the originals are open to the public, are reproduced from the vile and inadequate eighteenth century engravings of them, which convey no idea of their beauty nor any picture of their details, the very forms of the charges being of the period of the engraving.

The little shields which surround the page are referred to in the text by the letter 'F.' for 'facsimile.' What sense Mr. Foster prefers to attach to this word is doubtful, but if it can mean that they are in the bulk facsimiles of ancient drawings or paintings of arms the term is highly misleading. Some may have been drawn from ancient sources, many more from the heralds' tricks in post-medieval MSS. such as the well known Harleian MS. 6137, but many others have as little authority as the Wardour Street handwriting, in which the bearer's name is written under each shield. This last class show great misconception of the medieval art which they essay to counterfeit, and should prove pitfalls for the unwary artist or antiquary who

may put his trust in them. The recurrent appearance of the modern 'fret' is evidence enough of the little knowledge that went to their making.

A number of effigies and brasses redrawn in outline from well known book illustrations are inserted in the text, and in better company they would have helped to make a useful heraldic scrapbook, although Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and his fellows from Tewkesbury Abbey are put out of countenance by the curious taste which has printed under the feet of each the *IN MEMORIAM* of the suburban undertaker. At the end, in a reserved compartment, we find five samples of what Mr. Foster styles 'spurious and doubtful effigies,' which show in the main that Mr. Foster is blind to the points of difference between the work of the fourteenth century and that of the nineteenth. The splendid effigy in Westminster Abbey of Sir Bernard Brocas (*In Memoriam!* ejaculates Mr. Foster) is to our amazement set down for modern work, on the strength of a clumsily restored shield which once hung upon the arm, but which, we believe, is there no longer.

Throughout the book are modern illustrations of arms and 'achievements,' presumably those of subscribers. Mr. Foster would have one believe that these illustrations possess a considerable artistic value which we have found impossible to discover in them. One of the charges brought by Mr. Foster, and by others with more reason, against the College of Arms is that of depraving heraldic art with official conventions. But no single perversion of the forms of heraldry is lacking to these plates, which include the work of the artist of whom Mr. Foster is content to say that he admires his heraldry 'above all others.'

Do we charge the modern heralds with making quartered shields ridiculous by a rule which allows scores of meaningless quarterings to invade the shield? Here we have several specimens of this patchwork quilt heraldry, including scores upon scores of quarterings for the Duke of Norfolk, degraded heraldry testifying to doubtful genealogy. As a reformer, Mr. Foster must move with some caution. He has evidently been warned that Leofric, Earl of Mercia, did not bear *sable an eagle displayed or*, or any other blazon for that matter. So whilst the quarter wedges itself with the rest into the shield the accompanying blazon is in italics, which may indicate Mr. Foster's suspicions. But Uchtred, Lord of Raby, bears his

elaborate shield unchallenged, as do other patriarchs of like authority.

Even the heralds are abandoning that nineteenth century abomination of the shield with the top corners jutting into little angles. Here they appear in nearly every case. The heralds are learning that crests should only be borne on helmets. Here the crests balance themselves on straight length of twisted cords to whose ends draggled snippets of mantle have been attached as by an afterthought. The tiny crest bears no relation to the size of the shield, which by comparison has generally the air of an armorial hoarding. The marshalling of these quarterings follows no known custom, quarterings being regarded as single quarterings or portions of wandering 'grand-quarters' at the taste of the spectator, although in the shield of Lord Winchelsea the 'grand-quarters' take to themselves unauthorized white borders in order to stem the confusion created by their higgledy piggedly occurrence. Lord Winchelsea's two crests, a doe and a griffon, meet each other in surprise in their walk along a wreath which resembles a 'cat's-cradle' of string ending in holly-leaves.

Not one of these illustrations compares with the stock engravings of the familiar *Burke's Peerage* type, which were at least produced by artists, although of a humble sort and following the stiff convention of the decadence. Quality of line and form may be sought in vain amongst these disappointing 'achievements.' Not one of them shows the legitimate influence of that medieval art in which Mr. Foster would have us believe that he has steeped himself for many years. He has probably seen all that he claims to have seen, but it has left no mark and he has learned no lesson. That one whose earlier work was enriched by the cunning hand of Mr. Forbes-Nixon, the most distinguished of English heraldic artists, should declare his preference for these bungling endeavours at line and ornament, argues that he remains unteachable.

As a last word at the launching of this book, Mr. Foster has the assurance to tell us that unless it be another volume of pictures no further work upon the subject will be needed; and, evidently in view of the fact that a *corpus* of the rolls of arms has for some time been in preparation for the press, he adds a warning to the public that the rolls of arms have 'all been edited and printed.' The first statement is in ques-



tionable taste ; the second, although it may be classed with the many other slipshod statements of his prefaces, is so far from being a fact that it is difficult to save it from a more severe qualification.

OSWALD BARRON.

## THE STEWARTS

The formation of Scottish clan societies is a pleasing feature of the times, and is likely to lead, as in the case of family societies in America, to an increase in the study of genealogy and in the production of works dealing with family history. The work before us,<sup>1</sup> of which the author does not reveal his name, has its origin, he frankly confesses, in 'the pride of name and race,' and, as he tells us with equal candour, makes 'no pretence either to literary merit or original research.' This story of the Stewarts from the origin of the race to the time when one of its sons mounted the Scottish throne is in fact a compilation from printed books familiar enough to the antiquary. It is calculated however to serve its purpose in fostering what we may term *esprit de famille*, and the author's exhortations in the preface are conceived in the right spirit, though the Stewarts, one imagines, would hardly be 'content to rest on the laurels of our ancestors'—if a more convenient seat than a laurel wreath were at hand.

To the old problem of the origin of the Stewarts the author devotes much attention, but it is disappointing to find him, even at the present day, hesitating between their Breton descent and their legendary derivation from 'Banquo, thane of Lochaber.' The reader is left, we read, to 'form his own conclusion' as to 'the rival theories and documents.' Yet the author himself sees clearly that 'there is sufficient indication in the history of Alan's descendants to prove his and their Breton origin and descent,' which makes his hesitation to reject the old 'Banquo' legend the more regrettable. Moreover he has fallen a victim, as others also have done, to that most dangerous book *The Norman People*, which by reckless admixture of guesses with facts endeavours to trace the Stewarts' ancestors to the time of Julius Cæsar. We observe also some strange errors such as ought not to find a place in the work of a modern genealogist.

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of the Stewarts*. Printed for the Stewart Society (Edinburgh : Stewart & Co.), 1901.

The Fitzalans Earls of Arundel, for instance, are not 'now represented by the Duke of Norfolk,' but by Lord Mowbray, Segrave, and Stourton, and Lord Petre; Simon 'brother of Walter Fitz Alan' was not of necessity son of Walter's father, and his name was certainly not 'a corruption, accidental or phonetic,' of the Breton 'Salomon.' The wife of Walter the Stewart who died in 1246 was not 'daughter of Gilchrist Earl of Mar and of his wife Marjorie daughter of Henry Prince of Scotland, brother of Kings Malcolm IV. and William IV.'; she was daughter of Gilchrist Earl of Angus, the name and parentage of whose wife are by no means free from doubt; and Henry was father, not 'brother' of Kings Malcolm and William. In the next generation Walter the Stewart's son and namesake did not marry 'Mary Comyn, younger daughter of Walter Comyn Earl of Menteith'; Walter Comyn was not her father, but the husband of her elder sister, which husband, by the way, is transformed by the author into 'Sir William Comyn,' who was his father! Lastly, even though 'the English antiquarians' may have been 'greatly puzzled' by the styles of Edmund Hastings, they would really not believe with the author, who is good enough to enlighten them on the subject, that the Menteith estates and title were claimed by John de Hastings 'in right of his mother Isabella Comyn.' For she was not his mother, but the wife of his younger brother Edmund; nor was she the mother, by Edmund, of two sons as he states. 'The late Mr. John Riddell,' to whom he refers for the facts, set them forth in great detail and with complete accuracy, so that his errors are inexcusable. As for his statement that 'the Earldom of Mar passed into the family of the Erskines, the present (*sic*) possessors, in right of descent from Elene de Mar and Sir John Menteith,' we may leave it to some of his 'perfervid' compatriots, observing only that his anonymity may have been a prudent precaution. The character of this family history has now been sufficiently shown, but one may express mild surprise that Fordun should have spoken, as alleged, of three of the Stewarts as 'tres fratres inclites' (*sic*). At the end of the book are some chart pedigrees of the Stewarts and their royal descendants; but we do not find that the great pedigree of the house prepared by Mr. W. A. Lindsay for the Stuart exhibition has been consulted. The volume is well got up and has an attractive frontispiece.

J. HORACE ROUND.

## THE CORONATION : THREE BOOKS AND A PROTEST

The three handbooks<sup>1</sup> on the coronation that have recently appeared deal in the main with the coronation service itself. And seeing that any historical interest which the ceremony next June may have will be confined to the service in the Abbey, the authors of these books may be congratulated on choosing this side of the coronation ceremonies as their subject. For it is to be feared that any hope of seeing the coming coronation arranged on historical or even sensible lines is to be abandoned. The most unfortunate announcement, and that which dislocated the rest, was the proclamation in June that the ceremonies in Westminster Hall and the processions would be discontinued. This abolished the enthronement of the king amongst his peers ; the relic of the old Teutonic election of the king by the second estate. It is not too much to say that without this particular ceremony in Westminster Hall, previous to the service in the Abbey, no English coronation can be considered complete. Had the authorities realized that the king is, in form, elected, first by the second estate in Westminster Hall, and secondly by the first and third estates at the 'Recognition' in the Abbey, they would not, we think, have destroyed so vital a part of the ceremonies ; and they would also have perceived that the great procession through the streets was an antecedent to this election, and not a consequent of the coronation. Further, it is surely obvious that Westminster Hall and the Houses of Parliament are far more convenient places for the assembly and separation of such a large number of people as the peers and peeresses, than will be the west door of Westminster Abbey ; and as to the king and queen themselves, it seems to the ordinary individual that a

<sup>1</sup> 1. *The Coronation Service according to the Use of the Church of England* : with notes and introduction, by the Rev. Joseph H. Pemberton (Skeffingtons, 1901). 2. *The Coronation Service : its teaching and history* ; being a lecture delivered before the Aberdeen Diocesan Association, December 9, 1901, by F. C. Eeles (Mowbray, 1902). 3. *The Great Solemnity of the Coronation of the King and Queen of England*, by Douglas Maclean, M.A., sometime Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford : with a note on the binding by Cyril Davenport, F.S.A. (Robinson, 1092).



procession from Westminster Hall to Westminster Abbey would be far less fatiguing than a long perambulation through the streets previous to what must at best be a very tiring ceremony. Surely it is not disrespectful or unreasonable to suggest that the arrangements should be made so that not only will the king and queen be saved much unnecessary fatigue, but also that the ceremonies should be such that they should have some symbolism and illustration of the history of the English Monarchy.

Mr. Pemberton's book is described in the preface as 'intended for readers requiring the Coronation Service with the briefest possible notes.' The aim of the book, therefore, was excellent; and it is a pity that the execution should be marred by certain inaccuracies. But this is scarcely surprising, for with the possible exception of one book, whence has been derived the description of the frontispiece (the picture of a coronation at Corpus Christi, Cambridge), Mr. Pemberton does not seem to have read any of the volumes of the Henry Bradshaw Society, which has dealt largely with the coronation services. With the exception of this, and of Mr. Maskell's work, it is not clear that Mr. Pemberton has consulted any recent work on the subject. The following is a fair example of the errors into which Mr. Pemberton has fallen. On page 20 it is stated that 'with the exception of a few minor details this form of service [King James I.'s] has remained practically unchanged down to the present time.' This shows that Mr. Pemberton can hardly have heard of the very important changes, affecting not only the wording, but also the arrangement of the service, that were carried out in 1685 and 1689, and which were considerably more than changes 'of a few minor details.' In the account of the vestments, Mr. Pemberton has been misled by the use of the term 'dalmatic robe' for *pallium regale* into describing it as a dalmatic 'peculiar to the office of Deacon.' Had he but looked carefully at the frontispiece of his book, he would have noticed that the *pallium regale* is shaped like a cope. Mr. Pemberton evidently shakes his head seriously over the term 'Protestant' in the coronation oath, forgetting that it was put there with a definite purpose after the events of James II.'s reign; and we are in no way satisfied that Mr. Pemberton's definition of a Sacrament (p. 8) as a 'godly state of life' is compatible with that found in the catechism of the Church of which he appears

to be a minister. There are rumours of a second edition of Mr. Pemberton's work : let us express the hope that in it these and other like slips may be corrected.

Mr. Eeles' book however is of a very different stamp from Mr. Pemberton's. It deals, as its title announces, with the teaching of the service. Mr. Eeles begins by a very excellent account of the relations between the king and the Church. He points out that the king is appointed as a special minister for the government of the Church, a duty which has not only been taught in the coronation service itself, but which has been exercised by kings from very early times. Mr. Eeles shows that such duty has been performed by Saul and the kings of Judah as well by the Christian emperors, Constantine and Charles the Great, and he also might have added the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings. From that time until Henry VIII. the kings have still exercised that right, although the Papacy did all in her power to deprive them of that right. Under Henry VIII. indeed the royal prerogative was exaggerated, but this abnormal position was deliberately given up by Queen Elizabeth, who returned to the old position which had been held by the kings of England previous to the exposition of Hildebrand's theories. So too with the doctrine that the king is both layman and cleric, Mr. Eeles shows that it is of ancient origin. This doctrine, startling though it may seem to those who have only heard the doctrines of Roman *curia* in the middle ages with regard to the royal and imperial power, is of very ancient origin. Something very like it may be found at the outset of Bible history in the person of Melchizedek. The opinion may be said to have been held in the Church almost since the conversion of the Empire to Christianity : and it continued to be very widely spread in the Church during the middle ages in spite of the policy of the popes. At the same time it is not to be held, as some persons seem to think, a matter *de fide*, binding on all faithful Christians. It is possible that it is an opinion of little importance : the point is that it has been very generally held in the Christian Church both in the east and west.

Besides this interesting account of the theory of the royal estate, Mr. Eeles describes the service in detail and gives as an appendix the coronation orders of Charles I., of Queen Victoria and Queen Adelaide, so that a comparison may be made of the service under the *Liber regalis* and that of to-day ; or we must

rather say of 1838, for one cannot venture to guess at the condition in which the service will emerge, after being ground in the episcopal mill through which it is said to be passing. With all due respect be it said, recent efforts of Convocation in liturgical work are not such as to give us any confidence that the service will be improved. Mr. Eeles has produced an excellent and accurate handbook, which all should study who desire to know something about the coronation service.

The first thing that strikes the future reader about Mr. Maclean's book is the beauty of the binding. Mr. Davenport, in his note on the binding, says it is an accurate reproduction of the original cover of George IV.'s letter in which he 'presented' his father's library to the nation. The royal arms however have been altered and the royal initials have not been reproduced. But the gold border and the blue morocco make the volume look very handsome. Mr. Maclean has reprinted Queen Victoria's coronation and Queen Adelaide's, with notes; and he has brought together in a very pleasant way much information on picturesque details at the different coronations, especially those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As to his account of the *regalia* we notice in one case that Mr. Maclean has been misled, probably by the tickets attached to the *regalia* at the Tower. On page 150 Mr. Maclean says that the 'ivory rod with the dove' of the queen consort 'was lost for generations, but discovered in 1814.' Now Taylor in his *Glory of Regality* (p. 67) and Mr. Davenport in his *English Regalia* (*s.v.* the queen's sceptre with the dove) both say that it was not the ivory rod but the gold rod with the dove made for Queen Mary II. that was discovered in 1814. This new rod had to be made because Queen Mary II. was not a queen-consort but a queen-regnant, and consequently the ivory rod of the queen-consort was not suitable for her. As the queen-consort is a subject, and therefore in a position of inferiority to the sovereign, she has not hitherto sat on the same level or received the same ornaments as the king. To mark this difference the queen-consort, though she receives a crown and sceptre, is invested with no special robes, and has an ivory, not a gold, rod with a dove. The ivory rod, which is labelled at the Tower 'Queen Mary of Modena's,' as if it had only been used at her coronation in 1685, has, in fact, been used at the coronations not only of Queen Mary of Modena, but of Queens Caroline, Charlotte, and Adelaide.



The gold rod was put away after 1689 and only brought to light in 1814. The title of 'Queen's Sceptre with the Dove' misleads the public, as it gives the impression that it is one of the queen-consort's *regalia*, whereas it is really that used by a queen-regnant when crowned with a king-regnant. This is a contingency that is not likely to arise again, and it would be less confusing if this gold rod were put in a less prominent position among the *regalia* at the Tower.

Another misconception, for which Mr. Maclean is not responsible in the first place, is the remark on p. 44 that the ampulla and spoon escaped destruction in 1649. Among the *regalia* destroyed in 1649 were those at Westminster, and these include 'a dove of gold set with stones and pearl' and 'one silver spoon gilt.' These with the other ornaments were 'totally broken and defaced.' Among the jewels ordered to be provided in 1661 was 'an ampull for the oil and a spoon.' The ampulla then provided is that now at the Tower, and which cannot be the old ampulla, for it scarcely corresponds to the description of being 'set with stones and pearl' and does not bear any trace of this ornamentation. The spoon however is old: but it is not the spoon used for the anointing before 1649. It is an old spoon which, since 1661, has been used for the unction of the kings and queens of England. The other *regalia* date, without exception, the king's from 1661, and the queen-consort's from 1685.

Mr. Maclean has very wisely put the coronation processions into appendices; for, as we have hinted, the only part of the coronation in June which may possibly be historical, is the ceremony in the Abbey. He says, with great truth, that 'coronations seem to have fallen upon evil days.' It is interesting to read of the outcry in 1838 against the 'Penny Crowning,' as it was then called, which was raised by the decision not to revive the ceremonies in Westminster Hall and the procession. We hear (p. 239) of a meeting of citizens which offered £100,000 towards the cost of reviving the abandoned pageants and banquet. The precedent continued in 1838 has been followed now; but there is this difference, that whereas in 1838 there was a strong agitation in favour of retaining our national customs, which are of great antiquity, in this age of revived archæological interest nobody seems to care anything about them. If national customs are to be considered 'out of date' and are to be mauled at the will of Philistine officials, then this

coronation is being excellently arranged, for it is quite certain from what has been already announced that no such coronation will have ever been seen in these islands. On the other hand, if ceremonies are worth retaining which are quite peculiar to England, which distinguish her from other countries, and which also can be shown to be very significant from beginning to end, it is time that something should be said about the arrangements that have been made. The coronation ceremonies used to illustrate in a remarkable way the constitution of this realm: the coming coronation will rather give the impression of a breach with traditions, and will therefore become all but meaningless save that it will expose to all men how commonplace are the ideas of officials. It will show to the world the spectacle of a great nation with an unbroken record such as has no other country, but which, like the French in 1789, seems to take no interest in its history. These are not pleasant thoughts for those amongst us who are proud of our country's past, but they have been aroused by the ignorance, if it is not merely contempt, shown by the authorities in arranging what might have been a most significant and glorious pageant.

L. G. WICKHAM LEGG.

## WHAT IS BELIEVED

*Under this heading The Ancestor will call the attention of press and public to much curious lore concerning genealogy, heraldry and the like with which our magazines, our reviews and newspapers from time to time delight us. It is a sign of awakening interest in such matters that the subjects with which The Ancestor sets itself to deal are becoming less and less the sealed garden of a few workers. But upon what strange food the growing appetite for popular archæology must feed will be shown in the columns before us. Our press, the best-informed and the most widely sympathetic in the world, which watches its record of science, art and literature with a jealous eye, still permits itself, in this little corner of things, to be victimized by the most recklessly furnished information, and it would seem that no story is too wildly improbable to find the widest currency. It is no criticism for attacking's sake that we shall offer, and we have but to beg the distinguished journals from which we shall draw our texts for comment to take in good part what is offered in good faith and good humour.*

ONE can always turn to those of the 'Peerages' which supply historical information with the certainty of finding within their covers quaint and wild beliefs. Forlorn ghosts of fables long since deceased haunt their truthful pages and arouse memories of the past. And it is when they are most serious that these works are most delightful. Take, for instance the introductory chapter on 'Titles, Orders and Degrees of Precedence and Nobility' in which *Debrett's Peerage* enlightens our ignorance on these subjects. Some may prefer the sober observations prefixed to Courthope's edition of Nicolas' *Historic Peerage*; others may content themselves with *Whitaker's Peerage*; but for boldness and originality of conception *Debrett* is hard to beat. We read for instance under *Baron* that :

When the title was introduced into England is uncertain, but it is probable that its original name in England was *Vavassour*, which the Danes changed into *Thane*, and the Normans into *Baron* . . . It is certain, however, that as a title of dignity it is of very ancient date in some parts of the Continent.



Gregory Taronensis writes of 'the Barons of Burgundie, as well Bishops as other Leudes,' and other writers mention it in equally good company.

That such statements as these should appear at the present day is almost incredible. So essentially Norman was the word *Vavassour*—which meant, by the way, not a baron, but a baron's under-tenant—that, even after the Norman Conquest, it never succeeded, as *Baron* did, in making good its position here. Can it really be necessary, in these days, to explain that Thane or (Thegn) was the true Anglo-Saxon word and had nothing in the world to do with the Danes ?

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The modern Baron may be gratified to learn that his official predecessor found himself at one time in such excellent company as that of 'Leudes'; but why is Gregory 'Taronensis'—beneath which grotesque disguise, we may explain, there masquerades Gregory of Tours who wrote in the sixth century—made to write of 'Burgundie' in Elizabethan English? And why, for the matter of that, is even the Empress Maud made to use the cryptic tongue of 'Ye Olde Englyshe Fancye Fayre'? We read that 'the Empress Maud, daughter and heir to King Henry I., created an earl in the following words:—

I, Maud, daughter of King Henry and ladee (*sic*) of the Englishmen, doe give and grant unto Geoffrey de Margravill (*sic*) . . . to be Earle of Essex . . . as an Earle should have thorow his countrie in all things.'

That the name of the grantee was Mandeville (*Magna Villa*) not 'Margravill,' need scarcely be pointed out. It is but right to add that the Editor has again to acknowledge 'the continued valuable assistance afforded by Charles H. Athill, Esq., Richmond Herald,' who has, we presume, approved of the statement, in the same instructive Introduction, that 'It should always be borne in mind that, strictly speaking, every one bearing duly authorized arms is equally entitled to be styled "noble," be he Peer, Baronet, Knight, or Gentleman.'

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One of the leading illustrated weekly papers last January devoted a whole page to an illustrated article on the Talbots of Malahide, from which we extract the following:—

In the year 1172, Richard Talbot, son of Lord Talbot of Eccleswell and Linton, crossed the Irish Channel in the suite of Henry II. . . . This Richard, who is mentioned in Doomsday Book, obtained from Plantagenet (*sic*) for the services of his sword, the Lordship of Malahide as a fief of the Crown, and from Edward IV. the Admiralship of the adjoining seas . . .

Richard's only brother Gilbert inherited Eccleswell in Herefordshire and is the ancestor of the first Earl of Shrewsbury, created in 1442. Thus the cradle of the Irish Talbots is three hundred years older than that of their cousins of Alton Towers, and I have little hesitation in saying that the Talbots of Malahide are the only family in the United Kingdom—or for the matter of that, in the Continent of Europe—who have retained their ancestral estates for seven hundred years, preserving the same blood and lineage in the direct male issue . . .

The hall of the castle is one of the purest specimens of Norman architecture in the Kingdom, but it is not known whether it dates from the reign of Henry II. or from that of Edward IV.

How a castle hall in 'the purest' Norman style could date from the reign of Edward IV. (1461-83) it is not for us to say. We can only imagine that the writer supposed Henry II. (1154-89) to have lived about the same time as Edward IV. ; indeed, it is obvious that he must have done so, for he makes this Richard Talbot who accompanied Henry II. receive 'from Edward IV. the Admiralship of the adjoining seas.' Nor was even this the limit of the family patriarch's achievements. He had figured, we learn, in Domesday Book (1086) nearly ninety years before he accompanied Henry to Ireland and won Malahide 'by the services of his sword.' Our thoughts turn to *The Memorie of the Somervills*, of which the artless author, writing of his ancestor, who was 'then near the nyntieth and fourth year of his age,' frankly confessed that 'What could have induced him . . . to join himself with the rebellious barons at such an age, when he could not act any in all human probabilitie, and was as unfit for counsel, is a thing to be admired, but not understood or knowne.'

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We further learn from this wondrous article that 'Lord Talbot of Eccleswell and Linton' possessed that title at least as early as the time of Domesday Book, for that record mentions his son. But Linton, as a matter of fact, was not granted to the Talbots till 1156; and as for Eccleswell, it was *in* Linton. The descent from Richard the grantee to the first Earl of Shrewsbury seems to be perfectly clear; but we doubt if the Talbots of Malahide can be traced to this Richard, or their origin absolutely proved. There seems, strangely enough, to be no better history of this ancient house than is found in the *Genealogical Memoir of the antient and noble family of Talbot of Malahide* (1829), which appears to be the work of Betham (Ulster). When we mention that it makes

Richard Talbot 'who obtained a confirmation (by charter) from King John (1199-1216) of the lands of Malahide,' to be 'witness to a deed dated at Clontarf on the Morrow of All Souls', 1284', it will be obvious that there is need of a really trustworthy pedigree, supported by the charter spoken of and by other proofs. The Talbots deserve a better fate than to have their history made absurd by such statements as those we have quoted.

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It is the object of *The Ancestor*, while exposing on the one hand the wild beliefs and absurd fables which pass current for family history, to construct on the other trustworthy pedigrees, and to render the genuine descent of our really ancient families even more distinguished than it is by enabling its splendour to shine undimmed by the baseless pretensions of others. It is, for instance, an injustice to such a house as that of the St. Laurences of Howth to assert, as above, that their Talbot neighbours 'are the only family in the United Kingdom' of such antiquity on the soil, while in England itself there are several houses—the Gresleys for instance, the Shirleys, the Wrottesleys—who have held their lands in the male line as long as the Talbots of Malahide or even for longer. So we need not travel so far afield as 'the continent of Europe' to disprove the assertion made by the writer.

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It is always interesting to trace these wild stories to their source. In this case that source would seem to have been an article which made its appearance some twenty years ago in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*.<sup>1</sup> It was there similarly stated that 'Henry the Second created Richard de (*sic*) Talbott who is mentioned in the Domesday Book, Lord of Malahide,' and we recognize the origin of an amazing sentence among the extracts above in that which follows :—

There is no other family in the three kingdoms, nor for that matter in the whole of Europe, that has preserved the same blood and lineage in a direct male issue.

But even the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* did not start the story, for its statement that Richard de (*sic*) Talbott (*sic*) figures in Domesday is duly found, under Talbot de Malahide, in

<sup>1</sup> See *Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographer* (1883), iv. 251-4.



*Burke's Peerage* to this day. Moreover, as Henry II. died 713 years ago (1189), one wonders why the same work only claims for the Talbots that the Malahide estate has 'continued for upwards of 650 years in the male heirs of him on whom it had been originally conferred by Henry II.'

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While we are on the subject of the Talbots we may notice an extraordinary assertion which is also found in *Burke*, namely, that 'it is remarkable too that of the ancient seignorial estates in Ireland whose lords were vested with the dignity of parliamentary barons not one can be traced to have been held directly and *immediately* of the Crown but the lordship of Malahide.' In spite of the use of italic type, one has no occasion to go further than a few miles from Malahide to find in the Hill of Howth a case at least as striking and really more in point. For Lynch has given a charter of John, in the lifetime of Henry II., confirming to Amauri de St. Lawrence that historic estate as his father had held it before him. And the Lords of Howth have held it from that day to this, and have been from an early time parliamentary barons of Ireland, which the Talbots of Malahide have not. It seems strange that all these facts should have been unknown, as they must have been, to an Ulster King-of-Arms.

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It appears to be a common belief with Anglo-Irish families that their ancestors—whose names they always know—all landed in Ireland in 1172. They might do well to remember that the founder of the ancient and historic house of Butler belonged to the next generation, and that the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland, of which the history has yet to be written, extended over many years. The delusion to which we refer is found in a peculiarly acute form in the case of the Esmondés, with the history of whose alleged ancestor we deal elsewhere.

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In one of the most widely read of recent biographies, *The Life of Lord Russell of Killowen* (1901), the same delusion recurs. But it is only fair to add that the Norman origin of 'the chief' appears to have been forced upon him by his determined biographer. 'What am I?' he meekly enquires.

‘You are a Norman,’ was the firm reply. The ‘chief’ had imagined himself, he explained, to be of Irish descent, but ‘I said,’ his biographer informs us :—

The Russells were Normans. They settled at Lecale in the twelfth century. . . . In the reign of Henry II. Robert de Russell or De Rosel (a cadet of the house of Kingston-Russell, whence the ducal house of Bedford) accompanied Strongbow to Ireland. On the death of Strongbow he went with De Courcy to Ulster, and, as a reward for his services in that province, was granted lands in the barony of Lecale in the county Down. Passing over his immediate descendants, we come in 1316 to Thomas Russell, who was created Baron of Killough, a little seaport in the east of the county. From Thomas Russell the first to James Russell the eighth Baron of Killough the line of succession was unbroken.

Of this barony, ‘created’ in 1316, we confess to knowing nothing. The author tells us that ‘Henry Russell, who ranks in the French nobility as Count Russell, is the present representative of the Russells of Killough’; but, unless we are mistaken, the count’s title is not French but Papal, and was bestowed on one of his brothers. As for the late eminent lawyer, his father we learn was a brewer at Newry, and his grandfather a corn merchant at Killough. Whether the pedigree can be traced, as alleged in this book, to a cadet of the old Ulster Russells we do not know. Lord Russell himself was modestly content to begin it, in *Burke’s Peerage*, with the corn merchant’s father.

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The grant of arms to Lord Russell of Killowen affords a notable example of the official laxity in such matters. The Lord Chief Justice’s own belief that he came of native Irish stock seems at least a reasonable one in default of evidence to the contrary, the more especially as the Irish had English surnames forced upon them by law, even as on the continent of Europe Moses and Abraham became perforce Lilienthal and Oppenheim. Yet it was assumed as beyond doubt that he came from a *conquistador* knight, who in his turn was, on the evidence of a clumsily forged pedigree, made a collateral ancestor of the Duke of Bedford. The official mind recorded its opinion of the force of this reasoning by allowing to Lord Russell of Killowen the whole arms of the Duke of Bedford with the trivial ‘difference’ of an engrailed border. The highest authority in the land, in the great day of heraldry, pronounced the border too slight a difference to be borne by any one not a near kinsman of the bearer of the original coat.

The source of the wonderful story told by the chief's biographer is Mr. Wiffen's marvellous and romantic *Memoirs of the House of Russell*, where we read how Richard de Russell accompanied Strongbow to Ireland, bringing to his help 'the swords of his three sons, Richard, William and Thomas.' The dignity of the family however required that Robert, 'with his company of knights,' should cross separately in his own ship on a kind of private invasion. When he afterwards joined John de Courcy in his raid on Ulster, Mr. Wiffen's retrospective vision enabled him to describe how 'Courcy and De Russell plied their swords and polished lances.' Henry II., in admiration of the valour displayed by the latter, 'settled on De Russell a great part of Galway ; but the period when the grant was made is involved in obscurity.' So we should imagine. Yet, according to Mr. Wiffen, the Irish lands that he obtained in other quarters were sufficiently extensive to provide estates for his three gallant sons. On the whole 'De' Russell story, English and Irish, we may refer the readers of *The Ancestor* to Mr. Round's paper on 'The Origin of the Russells' in his *Studies on Peerage and Family History*. By the way, we observe that the whole pedigree, which he there completely overthrew, renews its appearance unabashed in the current issue of *Burke's Peerage*.

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A fashionable weekly paper, in its series of 'Celebrities at Home,' began its article on the Earl of Orford with the amazing statement that 'Of the Norfolk families which can trace their ancestry back to those remote ages which preceded the Norman Conquest, there is none which has occupied a larger place in history or done better service to the State than the Walpoles.' One wonders which are the Norfolk families that can claim this distinction, and whether the writer was thinking of the Hevinghams, who, as Mr. Walter Rye reminds us, 'were gravely said to be descended from Arphaxad, one of the knights who watched Christ's sepulchre.' Of Lord Orford's family the same authority, to whom one would naturally turn for the truth about a Norfolk pedigree, has written thus : 'Another good later family, whose earlier pedigree is all moonshine, is that of the Walpoles ; Collins and Burke gave them an ante-Norman descent, but their pedigree is not provable, at Houghton at all events, before 1286, the fact that there were people living earlier who took their name



from the place of Walpole being of no value as evidence, though in all probability they came from Henry de Walpole of Walpole, temp. Henry II.'

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Mr. Rye's name reminds us of his merciless exposure of that gorgeous concoction, the descent of the obscure Norfolk Stewards from the 'Royal Stuarts' of Scotland. In spite of the prominence given to this imposture by Mr. Round's further criticisms in the course of last year, we were startled to find an article in the Christmas number of another leading weekly on 'the origin of some peculiar coats of arms,' by no less exalted an authority than Ulster King-of-arms, in which the coat of this family was depicted and the well-known forged grant by Charles VI. of France accepted as genuine! 'These arms, it appears, were granted,' Ulster writes, 'by Charles VI. King of France, in 1385, to Alexander Stewart especially for the good deeds of his father Andrew Stewart, who, "by main force of club and sword in the field of battle, drove out of the double tressure of Scotland the false and vile usurper and coward lion of Balliol, and brought back the Crown of Scotland to its true and right royal head."' It is of this grant by the French king that M. Michel, the French historian cited by Mr. Rye, wrote: 'it is enough to cast the eye on these pretended letters of concession to recognize the *patois* of an Englishman little familiar with the language spoken at Paris at the end of the fourteenth century.' And yet this 'honourable augmentation' to the family arms is duly spoken of as genuine in the current issues both of *Burke* and of *Debrett*.

\* \* \*

Such alleged 'augmentations' as this, we may observe, are often associated with false tradition and tend to perpetuate error. A paper which professes to chronicle Court news informed its readers last February that Sir Trevor Chichele Plowden 'traces his descent from the ancient family of Plowdens of Plowden in Shropshire, where they were seated evidently some time before the earliest record. A Plowden fought at the siege of Acre in 1194, and there received the augmentation of the fleurs-de-lys borne ever since by his descendants.' For the truth about the early history of an old Shropshire family we should turn, of course, to Mr. Eyton, who, in his *Shropshire* (xi. 219) mentions 'a tradition

which, in its simplest form, seems to say that Roger de Plowden was at the siege of Acre; that his arms (being a fess dancetty) were, for some act of gallantry, augmented by two fleurs-de-lys (Dansey's *English Crusaders*).' 'Another version of the story,' he writes, 'ascribes such augmentation of Plowden's Arms to the favour of Philip of France.' His own suggestion was that the lilies of Plowden of Plowden, Walcot of Walcot, and Oakley of Oakley might all be derived from those in the arms of the bishops of Hereford, 'the Suzerains of all three families,' a suggestion in full accord with what we know of the practice of heraldry. Of the origin of this family he wrote: 'The first Plowden whom I can speak of on authentic testimony was William,' who occurs at Plowden on an Assize Roll of October, 1203. The pedigree is extremely obscure before the fourteenth century, and dismissing the absurd anachronism of the augmentation, it is to say the least highly unprovable that any arms at all could be traced in the use of the Plowdens to such a date as 1194.

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In the same number of the same paper was an article on the claim to the earldom of Llandaff in which we read that the Mathew family 'traces its descent from the celebrated and powerful King Cunedda, called "the Illustrious," first native ruler of the Cymry after the retirement of the Romans in A.D. 410,' and that after the battle of Towton, Edward created Sir David Mathew 'Grand Standard Bearer of All England, an office regarded as hereditary in his family, and granted to him and his heirs for ever the use of the word "Towton" as an augmentation over the crest.'

\* \* \*

As a ticket or scroll with the word 'Towton' is an unthinkable topping to the crest of a fifteenth century knight's helmet, we are driven to the conclusion that the augmentation was intended by King Edward for use upon Sir David's book-plate, and even here we seem to detect some flavour of anachronism.

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On the occasion of the late visit of the Prince of Wales to Germany, his Imperial Majesty the German Emperor, in one of those speeches which so charm his island admirers, was pleased to speak of English heraldic matters. His words (as reported in a London daily paper) were these: 'On the

helmet which adorns the escutcheon of the Prince of Wales there float from days of yore three feathers, and below them runs the device "Ich Dien." Here we have the vigorous sketch of a crest which might compare with, and lend colour to, the traditional 'augmented' crest which the Mathews won at Towton. We are not skilled in modern official heraldry and will not hazard an opinion as to what may or may not float from our native Prince's helmet, but if the 'days of yore' were the days of the Black Prince, imperial omniscience must have suffered in the reporting. The famous feathers, the 'plumes dostruce,' were borne by the Black Prince as a badge upon his 'shield of peace.' As a badge they have remained with his successors, and badges are not borne floating from helmets, with or without devices running below them.

\* \* \*

Mrs. Bagot's charming book entitled *Links with the Past*, which has doubtless delighted many of our readers with its pictures of a vanishing society, contains a passage in which are two errors which we may venture to correct. We read that :

Bagot's Park is four miles from Blithfield. The Bagots held the land undisturbed at the coming of William the Conqueror and the family has held them ever since. The residence of the family was at Bagot's Bromley before they migrated to Blithfield, which latter estate came to them by the marriage, in Henry II.'s reign, of the then head of the house with the heiress of the Blithfields. The great feature of Bagot's Park are the oaks and a herd of wild goats. The 'Beggar's' oak mentioned in Domesday Book is still a mighty tree ; the girth of its trunk so large that a carriage and four horses are almost concealed from view when drawn up behind it.

We have met in other places with the curious belief that this or that oak is 'mentioned in Domesday Book.' It may therefore be well to state that there is not in the whole of Domesday a single instance of any particular tree being mentioned. As to the Bagots holding 'the land undisturbed at the coming of William,' it is odd that a family possessing a name so purely Norman should desire, as the words seem to imply, to claim that they possessed their lands under the English kings. The received and persistent story is that they are entered as holders of (Bagot's) Bromley in Domesday Book ; but Mr. Eyton has shown that what 'Bagod' held, as an under tenent, was not Bromley, but Bramshall, the 'Branselle' of the great record.



The persistence of error is well illustrated in the interesting monograph on 'Medieval London' by two Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, Canon Benham and Mr. Charles Welch, lately issued in the *Portfolio* Series. We there read of 'the charter of Henry I. dated 1101' and are told that 'in the year 1100 Henry I. gave the city a fresh charter.' This great charter of liberties, a landmark in the history of medieval London, has no date at all; and the guess, which developed into a belief that its date was 1101, was successfully assailed years ago by Mr. Round in his *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, where he showed that it belonged to the close rather than the opening of the reign. That this conclusion is accepted by historians is seen in the recent number of the *English Historical Review*, where it is pointed out that Professor Liebermann pronounces the charter to be a later interpolation in the Laws of Henry I., as its date may be taken as 1131-3. It is singular that Mr. Round's discovery which is thus familiar in Berlin, should be unknown, it seems, to the Guildhall Librarian. Again, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries and published subsequently in *Archæologia* the same scholar was able to show that the time-honoured date of 1100 for the foundation of the Hospitallers' Priory at Clerkenwell was absolutely erroneous, and that the House cannot have been founded till some half a century later. This correction is of some importance, as St. John's, from its supposed early date, was considered the oldest House of all. Yet in 'Medieval London' we still read that the Priory of 'St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, was founded in 1100.'

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But a more typical example of 'what is believed' is afforded by the same monograph in its statement that King Athelstan (925-40) 'gave an impulse to the commerce of the city by promising *patents of gentility*<sup>1</sup> to every merchant who should make three voyages to the Mediterranean in his own ship.' This interesting allusion to the 'Mediterranean' is unknown, we believe, to historians; and as for the 'patents of gentility' they are really worthy of a place beside the Anglo-Saxon *Vavassour* of *Debrett*. But perhaps the authors were thinking of the patents of gentility which, as the same authority reminds us, confer the true nobility, and which are only genuine when supplied by a well known establishment in the City.

<sup>1</sup> The italics are our own.

The death of Lord Fitzwilliam removes a great noble from the ranks of the English peerage. Head of the house of Wentworth-Fitzwilliam he inherited in Yorkshire the seat and extensive estates of the Wentworths, though not the representative of that historic house. His Irish barony of 1620 and earldom of 1716 were modern as compared with the antiquity of his own Fitzwilliam stock. But its origin became unluckily the sport of pedigree-makers, and a weekly paper in its obituary notice took occasion to resuscitate these fables, heading its information 'Special' :—

The founder of the family was Sir William Fitz Godric, a Saxon, cousin to King Edward the Confessor. His son, Sir William Fitzwilliam, an ambassador to the Court of William Duke of Normandy, would seem to have joined the Conqueror against Harold, as for his bravery at the battle of Hastings the Norman leader gave him 'a scarf from his own arm,' which now forms the christening robe of every heir to the earldom. The nobleman who accompanied William held estates in Yorkshire, but it was not until 1782 that Wentworth Woodhouse came into the family . . . Tradition has it that he erected the stone cross in the main street of Sprotborough, upon which the well-known words were inscribed :—

Whoso is hungry and listes to eate,  
Let him come to Sprotburgh for his meate,  
And for ane night and for ane daye  
His horse shall have baith corne and haye,  
And no man shall aske when he goeth awaye.

\* \* \*

On this story we need only quote Professor Freeman's comments :<sup>1</sup>—

It is perhaps needless to say that all this is a pure fable ; but one really stands aghast at the utterly shameless nature of the fable. Sir William Fitzwilliam is supposed to be an English ambassador at the Court of Normandy. The inventor of the fable had so little knowledge as not to see that the Sir, the first William, the Fitz, and the second William was, each of them by itself, as much proof as could be needed that a man of whose name they formed any part could not have been an Englishman of the days of Edward the Confessor. Furthermore it would seem that the inventor thought it honourable for an ambassador sent to a foreign prince to join that prince in an invasion of his own country, and to bear arms in battle against his own sovereign. As for the scarf from William's own arm, we need hardly look in the Bayeux Tapestry to prove that the Duke who knew so well how to wield his mace of iron did not cumber his arm with any frippery of scarves on the day of the great battle.

It is worth while to mark that this imaginary traitor is described as the grandson of Godric. The choice of the name is lucky ; there was a traitor Godric in the fight at Maldon, and . . . those who like traitors for their forefathers may, if they think good, make choice of him.

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review* (1877), xxx. 29.

The real Godric, we may add, from whom the family descends was living about a century after the Norman Conquest.

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One of the objects which *The Ancestor* will keep specially in view will be the raising of the standard of genealogical and heraldic criticism. It is at present a rare exception for books dealing with family history or with armorial subjects to be discussed by reviewers who possess any real knowledge of these matters. As a natural consequence of this, worthless or misleading books receive at times laudatory notices, while others of real value are dismissed with slight notice. Nor is even ignorance alone to blame. The 'little knowledge' of the proverb is here specially dangerous. For instance, in some critical observations on *The St. George's Kalendar*, the *Queen* complained of its editor's ignorance of the fact that the earldom of Arundel passed 'from the FitzAlans to the Howards by the same Margaret Mowbray who is only credited with being co-heir of Mowbray, Segrave and Brotherton.' Unhappily for the writer, the earldom passed from the FitzAlans to the Howards neither in the way nor at the time that he imagines. It descended to Philip Howard at a much later period (1580) as the maternal grandson of the last FitzAlan earl.

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One of the illustrated papers previously referred to contained a portrait of Captain Swiney, who 'claims,' it explained, 'to act as Lord Great Chamberlain.' The public were informed that 'Captain Swiney's claim goes back further than the eighteenth Earl of Oxford, for he is said to be descended from Robert de Vere, who went to Ireland and whose estates are now owned by the Duke of Abercorn; "Verres" is the Latin for "boar pig."' Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland, is a well known character in English history, but he is also well known to have died without issue. A boar (*verres*) was no doubt the 'canting' (or punning) device of his house, but has nothing, we need scarcely say, to do with Captain Swiney's name, which is of Celtic derivation. The name of Vere is responsible not only for the 'claim' of this alleged descendant, but for a curious ancestor as well. For Leland's pedigree derived them through Miles de Vere, Duke of Angers and Metz, in 778, descended, in common with the Emperor Marcus Antonius Verus, from Verus (so named from his true dealing), who was baptized by Marcellus



in the year 41 and could trace his ancestry through Diomedes, who was present at the siege of Troy, to 'Meleager who slew the Caledonian boar.' Probably the boar had a rival claim to be Lord Great Chamberlain.

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From a single number of an illustrated weekly we glean the interesting information that 'the name of Lytton is indeed a proud one, going back to the Conquest,' but that 'Mr. Townley can trace his descent back to a remote past compared with which the Norman Conquest is but an event of yesterday.' This latter statement appears to be based on the authority of *Burke's Landed Gentry*, according to which 'the great and ancient family of Towneley,' of which Mr. Townley claims to be a cadet, 'as deduced by ancient charters and other authenticated documentary evidence, derives from Spartingus, first Dean of Whalley, living about the year 896, when Alfred reigned over England.' Can such a pedigree as this be surpassed? Surpassed! Why the same organ reminds us that the Burrells are 'of Gothic antiquity,' and that 'they claim kindred with one Borrell, a Goth, who figured at Barcelona in the first century.' Here surely we have reached the limits of genealogy. But no. On the opposite page, in a paragraph headed 'A pedigree of 4,000 years,' we learn that 'not many people' (we can well believe it) 'are aware' that the Chichesters, lords O'Neill, 'can boast of perhaps' (observe that cautious word) 'the oldest descent in the United Kingdom,' as their pedigree is traced back 'to Niul son of the King of Scythia (*circa* 1890 B.C.).' We must certainly agree that 'such a pedigree as this is indeed rare, and rivals that of the noblest Rajput if not those of the "Son of Heaven" and the Emperor of Japan.' But as this pedigree, though 'rare,' is not described as unique, we are encouraged by the word 'perhaps' to hope that the heir-male of Prester John may yet be found in Ireland, and even the descendants of another distinguished alien immigrant, the Prophet Jeremiah, who arrived there, we believe, in the company of an Egyptian princess and in charge of the Ark of the Covenant.

\* \* \*

The following appeared in a fashionable London morning paper shortly before the opening of the present Exhibition at the New Gallery :—

Among the many articles of historic interest that will figure in the forthcoming exhibition of 'The Monarchs of England' at the New Gallery few are likely to attract more attention than the hat of Henry VIII. and the shoes of Anne Boleyn, which have been lent by Mrs. Ames of Ayot St. Lawrence, Herts. The hat and shoes are in themselves notable relics, but their chief interest lies in the fact that they are the title deeds of the estate of Ayot St. Lawrence. They were given by Henry VIII. to an ancestor (*sic*) of the late Colonel Ames in singular circumstances. The story goes that when the king was riding through Hertfordshire with Anne Boleyn and a company of attendants, he passed by Ayot St. Lawrence and inquired to whom the place belonged. It was in reality a royal possession, and this was explained to Henry by one of his courtiers (the ancestor [*sic*] mentioned), who added that he wished it belonged to himself instead. 'And so it shall,' said the king; and the estate was then and there handed over to the courtier, who however craved some token of its surrender. The king gave his hat and made Anne Boleyn part with her shoes, and the three articles have remained ever since in the possession of the family.

A charming story, which illustrates at once the manners of the time and the well-known amiability that was characteristic of Henry VIII. That he should continue his ride in a hatless and his wife in a shoeless condition is what one would naturally expect of the king and queen.

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And now for 'the ancestor' from whom 'the family' inherits these relics. We have only to turn to Cussans' *Hertfordshire*, a modern and familiar work, to learn that 'in 1873 the manor and estate came to Captain Lionel Neville Ames, grandson of Levi Ames the third son in succession of Levi Ames and Anna Maria Poole.' The said Levi was an alderman of Bristol and his wife was granddaughter of a mayor of Bristol, whose brother acquired the said manor *by purchase* in 1718.<sup>1</sup> Exit therefore 'the ancestor' who acquired it as a favourite courtier of the eighth Harry.

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But the exits are only beginning. In the official catalogue of the 'Monarchs' exhibition 'the ancestor' has disappeared, but the 'relics' were entered with their story now altered as follows:—

Nicholas Bristowe, a favourite courtier of Henry VIII., was riding with the king and Queen Anne Boleyn in Hertfordshire. Passing Ayot St. Lawrence he greatly admired the place, wondering whose it was. The king said 'It is mine, but now shall be yours.' Bristowe asking what evidence he was to produce of the gift, the king gave him the hat he was wearing and asked the

<sup>1</sup> *Hundred of Broadwater*, pp. 234, 236.

queen for her slippers, saying, 'Bring me these in London and I will give you the title deeds.' The hat and slippers have since always gone with the estate.

Here again we have only to turn to Cussans' *Hertfordshire* to learn that the estate was not 'granted' by the Crown till 35 Hen. VIII. (1543-4) and had not even come into the hands of the Crown till 1540.<sup>1</sup> As Anne Boleyn was put to death in May, 1536, the inconvenience of parting with her shoes must have been greatly tempered by the fact that she had already parted with her head several years before.

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And now for Nicholas Bristowe, the 'favourite courtier.' The first thing we learn from Cussans is that 'this manor was granted to John Brockett, John Allwey and Nicholas Bristow, Esquires,' which at once puts on the matter a very different complexion. But even Cussans does not supply the final and crushing blow. On turning to the real title-deed, the patent of July 25, 1543,<sup>2</sup> we discover at last the truth, namely that the manor was acquired in the ordinary way, *by purchase*, by John Brockett, Esq., John Alwey and Nicholas Bristow, gent. (*generosum*), the first of whom, we may add, was of the Hertfordshire family which gave name to the neighbouring seat of Brocket Hall in Hatfield, while the last was clerk of the jewel-house. The patent is a long and instructive one, reciting that Ayot St. Lawrence had fallen to the Crown by the attainder of Gertrude Marchioness of Exeter,<sup>3</sup> and that the advowson and an annual fair (*nundine*) on the eve and feast of St. Lawrence were comprised in the sale.

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The price given was twenty years' purchase—not a bad one considering the unsettled times and the fact that a subsequent quit-claim seems to have been necessary to perfect the title. With this manor the three purchasers bought also the manor of Holmes or Canons in Shenley, which had come to the Crown on the surrender of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield (25 Oct., 1540) at the Dissolution, and which Brockett and Bristow subsequently conveyed to Alwey. A third estate comprised in the sale was Robynstowe in Sandridge, which could doubtless be identified, though Cussans does

<sup>1</sup> *Hundred of Broadwater*, pp. 232-3.

<sup>2</sup> Enrolled on Patent Roll 35 Hen. VIII. p. 9, m. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cussans dates this event 1540, but its true date appears to be 1539.



not mention it under that parish. The total price of these estates at twenty years' purchase was £728 14s. 7½*d.* and this was actually paid to the Crown in 1543. The whole was to be held of the Crown as a twentieth of a knight's fee. Thus is the story finally demolished. The royal ride, the light-hearted gift, the alleged ancestor, the favourite courtier, the hatless king and the shoeless queen, *exeunt omnes.*

\* \* \*

Yet the London paper was perfectly right in its prophecy that much attention would be attracted by the interesting 'relics,' as the catalogue styles them, at the New Gallery. Whether even the absolute disproof of the whole story that we have given will put a stop to it may be doubted. For it is now some twenty years since Mr. J. A. C. Vincent demolished, in his *Queen Elizabeth at Helmingham*, the very precise story that the queen had stayed there with the Tollemaches in 1561, stood sponsor to one of their sons, and presented them with her lute which is still preserved as a great treasure at Helmingham. He was able to show that it was not Helmingham but Castle Hedingham in Essex that the queen had visited in 1561, and that the date on the lute itself did not confirm the tradition. Even Sir Bernard Burke admitted that the argument was 'overwhelming,' and that the visit, 'the royal christening and the memorial lute have no reality.' And yet an evening paper recently mentioned, in speaking of Lord Tollemache, that 'Queen Elizabeth once visited Helmingham and presented a lute to the then Lady Tollemache.'

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How do these stories arise? We cannot here raise the somewhat thorny and delicate subject of 'relics' in general, although it is one with which the student of the Middle Ages is called upon at times to deal. We will only invite the readers of *The Ancestor* to observe that a family tradition can assume, as we have seen, definite form and can even succeed in obtaining currency and receiving a certain sanction through a London exhibition organized by a committee of experts, although the entire story can be shown to have no foundation. Surely, *ça donne à penser.* The moral is one, we think, that hardly needs pointing, and if our readers should hesitate at times to accept the critical conclusions of the new scientific genealogy, we hope they will remember the value of tradition as exemplified by the hat of Henry VIII. and the shoes of Anne Boleyn.

FAMILY HISTORY FROM THE PUBLIC  
RECORDS

A VETERAN worker in the cause of genealogy, Major-General Wrottesley, has dwelt in the preface to his *Crecy and Calais* (1898) on the wealth of material for history contained in our public records. He cites, at the outset, the words of Ashmole : 'in our public Records lye matter of Fact, in Full Truth, and therewith the Chronological part, carried on, even to days of the month ; so that an industrious Searcher may thence collect considerable matter for new History, rectifie many mistakes in our old, and in both gratifie the world with unshadowed verity.' The writer himself was able from one class of records alone, a class which had not been previously utilized, to recover 'the names of upwards of 800 Knights and Esquires who served with the King in France in 1346 and 1347,' and to compile a work as interesting as it is valuable to the student of family history.

But although the classification of our records in that great repository to which they were transferred in the course of the late reign would, in any case, have greatly facilitated the arduous work of research, it was reserved for the present Deputy Keeper, Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, to initiate a scheme for which his name deserves to be kept in grateful remembrance by the student of genealogy and topography. The noble series of 'Calendars' begun in 1892, and already extending to more than thirty massive volumes, is gradually placing at the disposal of all who possess or can consult them the contents of the Patent and Close Rolls, of the Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, of the miscellaneous collection of documents known as 'Ancient Deeds,' and of other sources of information which were all virtually inaccessible to the members of 'the general public.'

For the present I will speak only of the Close Rolls, with

a calendar of which for the years 1307-13 this great series opened. It was the wise determination of the Deputy Keeper that the abstracts, in the Calendar, of the documents on the Rolls should be 'made so full that in ordinary cases no further information can be obtained from the Rolls themselves.' Moreover it was resolved to provide each volume with an index in which all the place-names on the Rolls should be identified and their modern equivalents supplied. It is obvious that this luxurious method of consulting our national records will impart, when it is better known, an immense impetus to their study, especially among those who are not able to consult the originals for themselves. It is not too much to say that the study of local and family history will be almost revolutionized by these invaluable volumes. As is well observed by the Deputy Keeper in his Preface to the opening volume, these Rolls, in addition to the light they throw on public administration, 'contain copies of a vast number of deeds, agreements and awards concerning private persons, which were exhibited in chancery for enrolment; the biographer, the genealogist, the topographer, the philologist and the student of the manners, arts and commerce of the Middle Ages may alike obtain from them information of great interest which is not to be found elsewhere.'

The expert in genealogical or topographical study may be well aware of the value and importance of these Calendars for his purpose, but I am writing for the members of that wider public who have hardly realized as yet the boon which has been thus conferred on those who are seeking to learn something of the history of a family or a parish. It is hoped that *The Ancestor* may be able to render assistance to these, especially to those engaged on working out a pedigree, by collecting the genealogical information scattered up and down throughout these volumes and by explaining entries which the official editors are compelled, of course, by the nature of the scheme to leave in a somewhat arid and unattractive form.

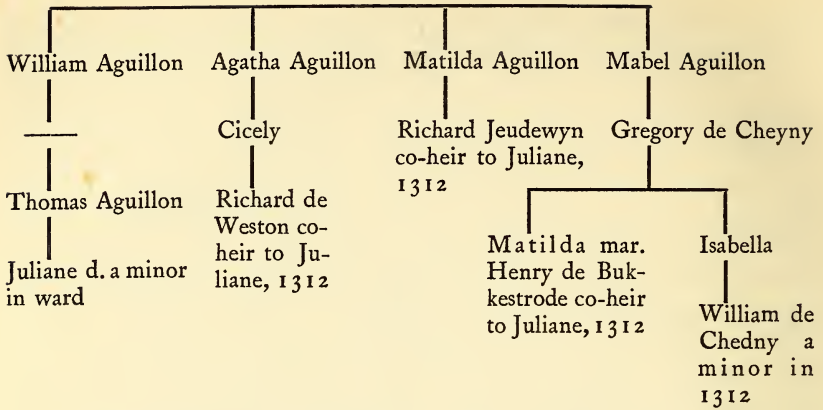
Restricting ourselves to this first volume, we find, for example, the final disposition of the manors of Nuneham Courtney and Heyford Warren (Upper Heyford), Oxon, Pishiobury, Herts, and Harewood and Kirby Overblow, Yorks (pp. 273-4). They had had a curious history. Warine Fitz Gerold, chamberlain to John—from whom Heyford



Warin (corruptly 'Warren') derived its name—had married Alice the heiress of the Courcis, who brought him the Oxfordshire manor of Nuneham, the Domesday seat of her ancestor Richard de Courci. Margaret, daughter and heiress of Warine and Alice, brought the whole group of manors to her husband, Baldwin de Reviers ('Redvers'), and it became part of the vast inheritance of their granddaughter Isabel, Countess of Devon and Lady of the Isle. On her death, in 1293, such portions of her estates as she had not surrendered into the grasping hands of Edward I. were claimed by her heirs collateral, the representatives of the families from whom her various possessions had been derived. This gave rise, as might be expected, to a very pretty tangle, but genealogy makes it clear that her kinsman, Warine de l'Isle, the heir of a younger son of Warine Fitz Gerold, became entitled, on her death, to such of her manors as had belonged to Warine. Nevertheless, when he claimed them, a counter claim was made on behalf of another collateral heir, Hugh de Courteney, who had no descent from Warine Fitz Gerold. As Hugh was a minor, the Crown replied that it must keep the lands in its own hands till he came of age; and when he had done so, Warine de l'Isle was dead, and the minority of his heir gave the Crown a fresh excuse for postponement. Thus it was not till July, 1310, as we learn from this Calendar, that the Crown at length parted with these valuable lands, of which it had retained possession for seventeen years. And even then their rightful heir, Robert de l'Isle, we find, did not obtain the whole. The manor of Nuneham, together with some lands in Heyford Warin and in Harewood, was secured by Hugh de Courteney, perhaps by way of compromise, and the descent of Nuneham Courtney, otherwise incomprehensible, is thus explained. It would seem that Wootton Courtney, Somerset, was diverted in like manner from the heirs of its original possessors, for I have found evidence in a private collection that it was held by Warine Fitz Gerold and Alice de Curci his wife, it having descended to the Curcis through an heiress from William de Falaise, its Domesday holder.

Another instance of collateral succession is found in the heirship to Juliane Aguillon, who died a minor in ward, holding the manor of Nutbourne by knight-service. A single document (p. 499) supplies the following pedigree:—

## THE ANCESTOR



The Aguillons were of old standing in Sussex as knightly tenants of the Honour of Arundel, holding Nutbourne, in the twelfth century under the Aubigny earls,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards of their Tateshall co-heirs who obtained the Aguillon fees in their 'purparty.'

The mention of 'purparty' reminds one that for purposes of county history no document could be more valuable than the great awards of partition between the co-heiresses of a fief which are entered in full detail on these rolls. For between them were divided not only the manors which the baron had kept in his own hands, but the subinfeudated portions of the fief, that is to say, those knight's fees which were held of him by under-tenants. It is from the descent of these knight's fees that the history of our oldest families must be traced; and it is precisely this descent that is so difficult to prove owing to the absence of inquests after death in the case of under-tenants.

In the present volume we obtain such evidence for the great fief of which the head was the moated mound of 'Richard's Castle' on the border of Herefordshire and Shropshire. This fief was divided in 1309 between Joan and Margaret, daughters and co-heirs of Hugh de Mortimer, descended through an heiress from Osbern Fitz Richard, lord of the fief in Domesday Book, from whose father, a Norman favourite of Edward the Confessor, the castle had derived its name. Joan, at the time of the partition, was wife of Thomas de Bicknor; but the father of her heir was her later husband, Richard Talbot, from whom descended a short line of Talbots of Richard's

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Testa de Nevill*, p. 222.

Castle. From the younger sister Margaret, by her husband, Geoffrey de Cornwall, descended the Cornwalls, 'Barons of Burford,' a curious titular distinction which they owed to their share (in which Burford was included) of the Richard's Castle fief.

The deeds relating to this partition will be found on pp. 36, 97-8, 177-9 of this volume, which was prepared by an eminent scholar, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, a special authority on place-names, their identity and derivation. Of the demesne manors here dealt with little need be said. They are Burford in Shropshire, Cotheridge and Wychbold in Worcestershire, Blethvaugh in Radnor, Nympton in Devon, Amberden (in Depden<sup>1</sup>) and Hobrige (in Witham<sup>2</sup>) in Essex, and Norton near Daventry, Northants. None, I may say, of these names presents the slightest difficulty; Mr. Stevenson however could not identify Blethvaugh ('Blethevagh') or Norton, and although he successfully identified Margaret's moiety of Nympton ('Nymeton'), Joan's moiety ('Nymynton') baffled him (p. 672); Hobrige, an important manor, he mistook for Heybridge, explaining that the 'Hobruigg' of the text was intended for 'Hebrugg' (p. 645), which it is not. The so-called laws of 'phonology' (or whatever the thing calls itself) were incompatible, no doubt, with the simple facts.

When we pass from the demesne manors to the knight's fees of the under-tenants, we realize at once the value of a document which records the names of those under-tenants in a given year (1309), the number of knight's fees they held, and the manors in which they held them. I have here arranged the details in tabular form for convenience, giving the modern equivalent of the place-names in the text. We have first the knight's fees assigned to the elder sister Joan. The reader should observe the interesting cases in which parishes have derived their present distinctive name from the families which then held them.

WARWICKSHIRE

Farnborough . . . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ fee} \\ \frac{1}{4} \text{ ,,} \\ \frac{1}{16} \text{ ,,} \end{array} \right.$	Jordan de Say
		Heirs of William de Halughton
		Heirs of Walter le Norable
Mollington . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ ,,	Eleanor de Clare
Dunchurch . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ ,,	Eustachia widow of John Dunheved

<sup>1</sup> This was an escheated manor of the Honour of 'Peverel of London.'

<sup>2</sup> This was held of the Montfichet fief.



## HEREFORDSHIRE

Puddlestone and Brampton . . .	$1\frac{1}{4}$ fee	Richard de Curson
Yarpole . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	Walter Hakelutel
Richard's Castle . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	Roger Eilrich

## GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Littleton . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ fee	Abbot of Abingdon
Ullington in Pebworth . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	John de Ollynton
Naunton . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Prior of Little Malvern

## SHROPSHIRE

Neen Sollars . . . . .	1 fee	Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore
Tetneshull and Merebrook <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Peter Corbet
Tilsop . . . . .	$\frac{1}{3}$ „	Adam de Elmerugge
Ashford Bowdler . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	John de Boudlers
Overton . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	John de Overton
Wooferton <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	William Carbonel

## WORCESTERSHIRE

Carton in Mamble . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ fee	Hugh de Mortimer
Impney . . . . .	1 „	Peter Corbet
Eastwood . . . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$ „	Thomas de Arderne
'Kynges Lond' . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	John de Kynges Lond
Elmbridge . . . . .	$1\frac{1}{6}$ „	Adam de Elmerugge
Pershull . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Henry de Peremort
Elmbridge . . . . .	$\frac{1}{10}$ „	William de Hanewode
Cotheridge . . . . .	$\frac{1}{12}$ „	Adam le Joevene
Shelsley Walsh . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	William le Waleys
Sapey (Pitchard) . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	Roger Pitchard
Edwin Loach . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Heirs of William de Longe
Crowle . . . . .	1 „	Guy de Beauchamp
Witton . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Grumbald Pauncefot
Rock and Hollin . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Henry de Ribbesford

The other co-heiress, Margaret wife of Geoffrey de Cornwall, had for her purparty a moiety of each of the above demesne manors and the following knight's fees in the counties of Warwick and Hereford.

## WARWICKSHIRE

Mollington . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ fee	Prior of Kenilworth
Binley . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Abbot of Combe

## HEREFORDSHIRE

(The) Whyle <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ fee	Richard de la Launde
Byton . . . . .	$\frac{2}{3}$ „	Thomas de Brampton
Staunton (on Arrow) and Mowley	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Walter de Hopton

<sup>1</sup> See Eyton's *Shropshire*, iv. 348.

<sup>2</sup> Near Ashford Carbonel and Ashford Bowdler at the southern extremity of the county.

<sup>3</sup> Near Puddlestone.

Combe . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ fee	Berard le Bret
Nash <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{3}$ „	Ralf de St. Ouen
Knill . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	John de Lyngayne
Berrington <sup>2</sup> (i) . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Thomas de Lyngayne

[OXFORDSHIRE]

Nether Kiddington . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ fee	Henry de Willamescote
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[NORTHAMPTONSHIRE]

Litchborough . . . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$ fee	William Poer
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[SOMERSET]

Marsh Huntley (in Yeovil) . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ fee	John de Hunteleye
Kingstone by Yeovil <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Robert Fitz Payne

SHROPSHIRE

Milson . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ fee	Hugh Godard
Weston <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Earl of Lincoln
Romsley and Badger . . . . .	I „	Leo de Rommesleigh
Greet <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Philip de Grete
Stoke <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{3}$ „	Henry le Moncour, Margery la Blak
Court of Hill <sup>5</sup> ('la Hull') . . . . .	$\frac{1}{11}$ „	William de la Hull
Ashford Carbonel and Overton <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	Hugh Carbonel
Stanage . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	Edmund de Cornwall
'Kyngeshemed' and Nash <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ „	Robert Sturmy

WORCESTERSHIRE

Clifton-on-Teme . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ fee	Roger de Mortimer
Kyre Wyard . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ „	John Wyard
Sutton Sturmy (in) Tenbury and 'Overe' . . . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$ „	Robert Sturmy
Tenbury . . . . .	2 „	Henry de Lacy

In this list, it will be seen, the old Herefordshire families of Hopton, Lingen and Hill (of Court of Hill) have already emerged as tenants by knight service. A century earlier, under John, none of their names are found in a list of tenants of the Honour, arranged under counties, in *The Red Book of the Exchequer* (pp. 603-5) which is of interest for comparison with the abstract I have given above. Such lists as these, where they exist, are the backbone of county history.

<sup>1</sup> On the Herefordshire border between Combe and Knill.  
<sup>2</sup> Given as 'Heriton.' Domesday enters 'Beritune' in Worcestershire as held by Osbern Fitz Richard, so that it ought to occur among these fees. It is in the north-west corner of the county on the Herefordshire border. Habington speaks of it as 'aunciently Beriton.'  
<sup>3</sup> Alias Kingston Pitney.  
<sup>4</sup> A member of Burford.  
<sup>5</sup> Members of Burford.

But to make these lists really useful, to save them from being actually misleading, the manors to which they relate must be correctly identified. The labour involved at times in accomplishing this is greater than would be imagined by any one who has not approached the task ; but this indispensable work is now being admirably performed by the staff of the Public Record Office. It is only fair to remember that the volume with which we are dealing was the first of these calendars to appear, and that Mr. Stevenson, who prepared it, is unfortunately more concerned with the supposed 'sound-laws' governing the changes in place-names than with their actual changes as proved by records. For the readers of *The Ancestor* however the latter are of most importance. I have therefore provided them with the right equivalent of several names which Mr. Stevenson was not able to identify. Taking these in order we find that in Gloucestershire he was baffled by 'Lutlynton' (Littleton) and Newynton (which he identified as 'Newington'). The latter is a peculiarly instructive example, because Naunton, its right equivalent, is represented in Domesday by 'Niwetone' (as was shown long ago by Mr. A. S. Ellis), a form which is also found employed for such names as Newington, Niton, Newtown and Newton. We thus learn the futility of endeavouring to apply the laws of sound to the changes in our English place-names.

Mr. Stevenson further failed to identify Wooferton ('Wol-ferton') of which the name is prominent in the neighbouring Wooferton Junction, Carton, ('Carkedon') and Hollin ('Holm').

When we turn to the fees of the younger sister the failures increase in number : the calendar does not identify Byton ('Buton'); Mowley ('Moldelsleye'); Nash ('Asshe') county Hereford, or Nash ('Asshe') county Salop; Marsh in Yeovil ('Merssh'); Milson ('Mulston'); Weston, county Salop; Stoke, county Salop; Clifton-on-Teme ('Clyfton'); Kyre Wyard ('Cuyre'), or Sutton Sturmy. Worse than this it converts an Oxfordshire manor of Kiddington into Codington, county Hereford; the Herefordshire manor of The Whyle into Willey, county Warwick; and the Shropshire seat of Court of Hill into Hill, county Warwick. When these corrections have been made, there is not, as may be supposed, very much that is left.

Four years later, in another official publication, there



appeared the interesting return for the same great fief of which I have already spoken.<sup>1</sup> It is assigned to the reign of John, but Mr. Eyton, rightly or wrongly, believed that its real date was about 1230. In this return the manors are arranged under their counties more carefully than in the documents of 1309. Under Herefordshire we note 'Pullesdone' and 'Wile.' In the *Testa de Nevill* (p. 66) these places appear next one another, under the Hundred of Wolphy, as held of this fief. Therefore they are quite certainly Puddlestone and its neighbour The Whyle. And yet the official editor definitely identifies 'Wile' as Willey. In Shropshire he identifies Wooferton ('Wolferton') as Wollerton, but there is worse to come. Of the three Gloucestershire manors spoken of above, 'Neutone' (Naunton) is asserted to be Newington, 'Luctone' (Littleton) to be Lucton, and 'Olintone' omitted altogether from the index where it ought to be identified. The Oxfordshire manor of the fief is 'Codintone' (Nether Kiddington), which is carefully identified by the editor as Cuddington, although the places of that name are all in other counties. Finally there is the Somerset holding, which, as we have seen, was in Yeovil. The *Red Book* enters it as one knight's fee in 'Siville', held by Richard de 'Sey'; and its editor confidently pronounces this place to be Swell. Now, Swell was a manor held by the L'Ortis, with which the Says had nothing to do, while at Yeovil the Says are proved by the Close Rolls to have held lands in the time of John, and the fact of their tenure bears on the date of this return. 'Siville' therefore was simply Yeovil—the Ifle, Ivle, or Givele of Domesday—and indeed the *Red Book* itself shows us on another page (p. 545) Gilbert de Say holding there this knight's fee.

It is needful, unfortunately, to warn the reader, especially if he is working for the great *Victoria History*, against this unfortunate edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer*. And the reason is this: its editor has gone out of his way to give the student confidence in the identifications he propounds by dwelling on the care with which they have been made, and insisting that 'the place-names in this index have in fact been subjected in turn to a threefold scrutiny' (p. cclxxix.). The 'genealogical test,' we read, 'proved to be unspeakably laborious, but its results were highly important and instruc-

<sup>1</sup> *Red Book of the Exchequer* (1896), pp. 603-5.

tive' (p. ccclxxx.). They certainly are so in the case of 'Swell.' For the present, however, I will say no more on the tests which the editor alleges he applied to identifications which would plunge at times the history of our counties into absolutely hopeless confusion.<sup>1</sup>

We have been dealing above with the partition of a great fief; but the Close Rolls record with equal care the partition of the small possessions of a tenant by serjeanty. It had been found by inquisition that a certain John Goce held lands at Gillingham, county Dorset, 'in chief by the serjeanty of fee of being forester of Gillingham Forest and keeper of the park of the manor of Gillingham, and that Amice wife of William de Bogeleggh, Elizabeth wife of John Cley, Alice wife of William Chonnesone, and Michaela wife of John de Rondes, daughters of the said John Goce, were his nearest heirs and of full age.'

On July 20, 1311, the king intimated that he had deferred to 'the next Parliament' deciding the dispute between these co-heirs, who claimed to hold by grand serjeanty, and his step-mother Queen Margaret who alleged that the tenements were of ancient demesne and should be held of her as of the manor of Gillingham. At last, but not till the close of 1312, the king lost patience with his stepmother, and ordered his escheator to divide the inheritance into four equal parts for the daughters and their husbands. This was done March 16, 1313, and a lengthy document records every detail of the partition. It is important to note that the actual *office* went to the eldest daughter alone, while the house, land, etc., was equally divided between the other three. For this bears on the question that is being raised as I write whether the Lord Great Chamberlainship of England should have descended in its entirety to Lord Ancaster instead of being held jointly by the heirs of two sisters. It is, in fact, the question of that 'impartible inheritance' on which some learning has been expended. 'It is Bracton's opinion,' write the authors of the *History of English Law*, 'that a tenement held by serjeanty ought not to be divided.' But 'in 1221,' they add, 'Henry III. permits co-heiresses to hold a serjeanty' (vol. ii. ed. 1, p. 273).

On the other hand they cite a case in which 'the eldest of

<sup>1</sup> I desire to observe that I only detected the above errors in identification on examining this return (January, 1902) for the purposes of the present paper.

several sisters claims the whole of her dead brother's land, "quia illa est de sergenteria."'<sup>1</sup>

In the case before us, it is quite clear, a third alternative was adopted. The actual serjeanty or office was assigned to the eldest sister alone, while the whole of the land held by its discharge was divided in equal shares between the three younger sisters. It is somewhat difficult to understand the principle on which this was done, unless it was parallel, in some degree, to the practice by which, according to Bracton, the eldest sister, when taking a castle or 'caput' of a barony, 'accounted for its value in the division of the rest of the inheritance.'<sup>2</sup>

For the readers of *The Ancestor*, however, it will be more interesting to learn how the 'Partition of the lands' of this 'tenant of the King by serjeanty' was effected (March 16, 1313). The eldest daughter Amice, with her husband William de Bogeleigh, received, as I have said, her father's office, which we find thus described.

The custody and bailiwick of the forest of Gillyngham and the demesne, wood and park as the forester's fee, as their freehold, to be held in chief by serjeanty, by homage to be made therefor, and William is to have in the forest, wood, and park, the croppings and bark of all wood given by the King, Queen, and justices, and of all wood felled for the King's or Queen's use, except what is felled for the Court or barton of Gillingham, and to have all trees and branches blown down by the wind unless they are blown down with the roots, and to have his swine therein without stint in pannage time quit of pannage, and to have eight oxen and eight cows and eight bullocks and two horses in the park and forest and wood. He is also to have the right shoulder of every beast taken in the forest.

This office, at a later time, was held by the Lords Stourton till the eighth lord was hanged for murder in 1557, when it passed into the hands of the Crown, being then valued as worth £40 a year.

The eldest sister's share was worth 40 per cent more than that of each of the younger ones whose 'purparties' were carefully made equal to a penny. If there was but one house in the inheritance, 'the house itself was physically divided,'<sup>3</sup> and this was the case here. The lands, rents, and services were all separately divided, but the house was partitioned thus: to John de Rondes and Michaela his wife were 'assigned a third of the chief messuage, to wit all the hall from the hall-door with the chambers adjoining the hall on the

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Law*, i. 270.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 273.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 273.



east, together with the adjoining plot of land as bounded by the ditch and two chambers extending towards the hall called "Brittoneschamber" with the little plot adjoining as far as the stable.' John Cley and Elizabeth his wife received 'all the kitchen with annexed chambers with the chambers from the hall-door extending to the kitchen on the west, with the plot round it as bounded by a ditch'; and the share of William Chonesone and Alice his wife was 'all the grange with the little plot adjoining towards the hall on the south with the barton adjoining the grange on the north.' Such deeds as this, it will be observed, throw no little light on the domestic arrangements of the time.

Glancing at a few miscellaneous entries, we find the value of a nun's life as a provision for the superfluous daughter illustrated (1308) by a royal order to the abbess and nuns of Winchester 'to receive into their house and to veil Matilda daughter of John le Mareschal, of Aulton, who wishes to receive the habit of their order, they being bound to admit a maiden of the King's nomination upon his accession.' The King's nominee, who was thus admitted 'on the cheap,' can hardly, one fears, have been made welcome. Another entry (September 7, 1311) proves that Matilda wife of Richard de la Ryvere was sister and heir of John son of John son of John le Bretun, knight, who held of Richard Basset at Blatherwyk and Laxton. From others we learn that John de Hodebovill, a tenant-in-chief, left at his death a widow Hilaria and a son heir Walter; that this Walter, dying very shortly afterwards, left a sister Alice as his heir, and a widow Margery, who received as her dower a third part of his messuage, in which was a room called 'Knyghtchaumbre,' together with rents from free tenants, among whom were James, son, and Agatha, daughter, of James de Hodebovyle, who were doubtless cadets of the house.

There are some entries which put us on the track of curious little discoveries. For instance, on April 8, 1312, the king's escheator was ordered to give seisin to Hugh de Hornle and Alice his wife of a tenement in Winchester 'which William de Dunstaple held in chief by the service of rending a pilch of greywork (*pellicium grisonis*) yearly,' as Alice had been found by Inquisition to be next heir of William. The escheator certified that he had been unable to carry out the king's order 'on account of the resistance of William Fraunceys and others

unknown,' and that William had claimed the tenement under the will of William of Dunstaple, the testator, 'according to the custom of the city,' having power to bequeath it. As William could not produce the will, the escheator was ordered anew to give seisin to Hugh and his wife 'taking with him, if necessary, the *posse comitatus* of Hampshire' to suppress resistance. The venerable institution of the *posse* still survives in the United States, although it has long been obsolete, because needless, here. In this second document the tenement is described as held by the annual render of a '*pellicium grisorum*.' Now the Edward I. survey of the city, some thirty years before, speaks of 'a certain large house in which are sold linen cloths in Winchester,' and which 'King John gave to William his tailor (*cissorsi suo*)' for an annual render of a grey *pellicium*.<sup>1</sup> Following up this clue we discover on the charter rolls of John an enrolment of the actual charter by which the gift was made. The official calendar of these rolls compiled by the Record Commission describes the house as styled '*lanea selda*,' as if the cloths sold there were of wool; but on reference to the rolls themselves, that reading is found to be wrong. The charter was granted July 16, 1215, when King John was staying at Fremantle (Frigid' Mantell'), then a royal residence in Hampshire, smarting under the humiliation he had suffered at the hands of his barons, and painfully short of money. It was perhaps this last consideration that led him to settle his tailor's claims by the grant of this house at Winchester for an annual render so small as a 'pilch' (a sort of cassock) lined with grey fur.<sup>2</sup>

John was not the only one of our kings who made such a grant to a royal tailor. The Essex manor of Wallbury in Great Hallingbury, which passed into the hands of the Crown 'when the Normans lost their lands' (owing to the separation of England and Normandy), was in the hands of Roger de Ross 'tailor (*scissor*) of our lord the King' in 1244-5 (29 Hen. III.), being then held by him in chief for the annual

<sup>1</sup> See the *Victoria History of Hampshire*, i. 531.

<sup>2</sup> The actual charter runs thus: '*Sciatis nos dedisse . . . Willelmo Cisoro nostro et heredibus suis domum illam cum pertinenciis in civitate nostra Winton' que vocatur linea selda habendam et tenendam . . . reddendo inde annuatim nobis et heredibus nostris singulis annis pellicium grisium*' (Charter Roll, 17 John, pars. 1, m. 8, No. 46). Henry Archbishop of Dublin is the first witness.

render of a silver needle at the Exchequer 'on the morrow of Michaelmas.' By a charter granted at Winchester, November 6, 1267, King Henry bestowed on his 'dear brother'—they were sons of the same mother—William de Valence, this estate, among others, as that which had belonged to Roger 'le Taylur' deceased.<sup>1</sup> On the death of William's son and heir, Aymer Earl of Pembroke, in 1324, it was duly found that this great personage held the manor of 'Walbery' by the service of tendering one silver needle;<sup>2</sup> the tailor's service remaining unchanged, even when the land was held by these illustrious earls.

It is hoped in future numbers of *The Ancestor* to illustrate further the interest and the value of these splendid calendars. The corrections I have had to make in the course of this paper will show, I hope, that it is not the language of the uninstructed reviewer when I say that the care bestowed on them is altogether admirable and the success attained in identifying names, as the work proceeded and developed, little short of marvellous. The Public Record Office has been good enough to supply a list of these calendars posted up to the end of February last, from which it will be seen what substantial progress has already been achieved in the work. To make that work more widely known is the chief object of the present paper.

J. HORACE ROUND.

### MEDIEVAL RECORDS

(All being Calendars unless otherwise noted)

#### PATENT ROLLS

Henry III. (Latin text) Vol. I. . . . .	1216-1225
"    " (    "    " ) Vol. II. . . . .	In the press
Edward I. Vols. I.-IV. . . . .	1272-1307
Edward II. Vols. I.-II. . . . .	1300-1317
"    " Vols. III.-IV. . . . .	In the press
Edward III. Vols. I.-VI. . . . .	1327-1343
"    " Vols. VII. . . . .	In the press
Richard II. Vols. I.-III. . . . .	1377-1389
"    " Vol. IV. . . . .	In the press

<sup>1</sup> 'Sciatis nos concessisse . . . dilecto fratri et fidei nostro Willelmo de Valencia totam terram cum pertinenciis in La Walle que fuit Rogeri le Taylur defuncti in Comitatu Essex' (Charter Roll, 52 Henry III. m. 12).

<sup>2</sup> Chancery Inq. p.m. 17 Ed. II. 75.



PATENT ROLLS ( <i>continued</i> )	
Henry IV. Vol. I. . . . .	In the press
Henry VI. Vol. I. . . . .	1422-1429
"    "    Vol. II. . . . .	In the press
Edward IV. & V., Richard III. Vols. I.-III.	1461-1485
CLOSE ROLLS	
Henry III. (Latin text) Vol. I. . . . .	In the press
Edward I. Vol. I. . . . .	1272-1279
"    "    Vols. II.-III. . . . .	In the press
Edward II. Vols. I.-IV. . . . .	1307-1327
Edward III. Vols. I.-V. . . . .	1327-1341
"    "    Vol. VI. . . . .	In the press
CHARTER ROLLS	
Henry III. Vol. I. . . . .	In the press
INQUISITIONES POST MORTEM	
Henry III. . . . .	In the press
Henry VII. Vol. I. . . . .	—
FEUDAL AIDS, ETC., 1284-1431	
(Latin text) Vols. I. & II. . . . .	Bedford to Huntingdon
"    "    Vol. III. . . . .	In the press
ANCIENT DEEDS	
Vols. I.-III. . . . .	—
Vol. IV. . . . .	In the press
DOCUMENTS IN FRANCE	
Vol. I. . . . .	918-1206
PAPAL LETTERS	
Vols. I.-III. . . . .	1198-1362
Vols. IV.-VI. . . . .	In the press
PETITIONS TO THE POPE	
Vol. I. . . . .	1342-1419
LIST OF ANCIENT PETITIONS . . . . .	
LIST OF EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS	
Vol. I. . . . .	Ric. II. and Edw. IV.
Vol. II. . . . .	In the press

## FAMILY HISTORY FROM PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

UNDER this title we propose to place at the disposition of our readers some of the valuable and interesting material for the history of families and of family seats which exists in a scattered form in the Appendices to the *Reports of the Historial Manuscripts Commission*. Only those who have had the leisure to read steadily through the vast mass of these 'Parliamentary Papers' can have formed any conception of the mine of wealth they constitute for those who are interested in the doings of our ancestors, their births, marriages and deaths, the homes in which they lived, their court and private gossip, their manners, customs and travels. We give below some extracts from one of the smallest of these volumes (*Report xv. Appendix x.*) which will illustrate at least the diversified character of the information they contain.

J. H. R.

1581, 26 Aug. 5<sup>l</sup>. to be given to Sir George Bromley, knt., and to Edward Leighton, esq., in respect of a marriage now solemnized between their children, in such things as they shall best like of. ('Shrewsbury Corporation Records,' p. 22)

Temp. Hen. III.—Grant from Roger de Langleberge to Hugh de Croft in marriage dowry with Hysobella his eldest daughter of his land in Bradefeld which he held of Ralph de Sudintone and John de Credewelle. Witn., Will. fitz Warin, Brian de Brauntone, Gwarin de Gredene, Rob. de Ely, Walter fitz Peter, Roger fitz Adam. ('Sir Walter Corbet's MSS.' p. 70)

1316, 4 Apr., 9 Edw. II.—Grant from John Burnel and Matilda his wife, daughter of John le Mynsmyth, to William le Rous, son of Sir Philip le Rous, knt., of a messuage in le Berewardstrete,<sup>1</sup> (Northampton). Witn., Henry le Garlecmongere, mayor, Henry de Westone and Barthol. de Reyni, bailiffs, etc. (Ibid. p. 74)

1326, 28 Feb., 19 Edw. II.—Release from William son of Will. le Rous to Firmyn le Rous of all his right in the lands, etc., which the

<sup>1</sup> The names of the street called after the 'Bearward' and of the garlic-selling mayor should be observed.

latter had by the gift of Sir Philip le Rous<sup>1</sup> and Lecia his wife in Northampton, Wodeford near Hinton, and Fardingston. Witn., Walter de Tekne, mayor, Adam de Cotesbrok and John de Hoche-cote, bailiffs, etc. Seal, a fleur-de-lis; 'Si' Will' le Rous.' (Ibid. p. 74)

Provision is made by Richard de la Clyve in 1356 for the saying of mass by his brother Nicholas before the altar of the Holy Cross in the church of St. Mary Shrewsbury, for the souls of their father, Thomas de la Clyve, their mother and brothers and sisters. (Ibid. p. 74)

'One of his ancestors, Ralph Carr, established a large connection with Scotland, Holland, Norway, and North America as a merchant and general shipping agent, to which he subsequently added the business of a banker. All the copy-books of his own business letters (but not the letters of his correspondents) have been preserved, amounting to some sixty or seventy volumes, and from these, which extend from 1737 to about 1783, much may be learned with reference to the commercial and banking transactions of the time. He mentions in one letter the fact that the shipping trade of Newcastle exceeded that of any other provincial port in England. The chief exports to America were coals, crown glass, bottles, lead, iron, and woollen goods; and the chief import appears to have been tar. The American correspondence of 1748-75 is contained in two separate volumes; earlier letters are scattered through the preceding general volumes, but from the former year the colonial trade began to assume special importance. The letters cease at the beginning of the War of Independence. In one of the earlier letters Carr says to a correspondent, with reference to a young man whom at the latter's request he had sent out to him as a clerk, 'There are few in England who have tolerable bread who would hire themselves to go to America.' Many of the names of the persons with whom he corresponded may doubtless have interest for families in America at the present day. Some few of these it may therefore be worth while to mention. At Boston, in 1748 and onwards, Messrs. Wendell, Ralph Inman (who continued a friend and correspondent up to his death), Edmund, Henry, and Josiah Quincy, Thomas Hutchinson (afterwards governor of Massachusetts), William Bowdoin (who arrived at Boston in 1748), Samuel Wentworth, Samuel Douglas, with many others; in 1764 some of the additional names are John Gould, Nath. and George Bethune, Samuel Scollay, hon. Andrew Oliver, James Griffin. At New York, 1749, Robert Commelin, John Bard, Joris Brinkerhoff, Adoniah Schuyler and Henry Cuyler, John Watts, Henry Lane, Philip Livingston; in 1764, Walter and Samuel Franklin, Lodowick Bomper, Thomas Vardill, Jacob Sarly. Mr. Carr naturally

<sup>1</sup> He is described as Philip le Rous, burgess of Northampton, in an earlier deed.



in the course of so long and large intercourse met with some dishonest traders ; of one house at New York he says, ' I have had too many bad chaps [i.e., buyers, chapmen ; a term very frequently used by him in this sense] in America, but they are the very worst ' ; in another, ' In truth most of the Americans are too cunning for me.' One Mr. William Fletcher, who left Boston for the safer Danish island of St. Eustathia, leaving his debts unpaid, excited special indignation ; but in 1763 his character was re-established, a composition was paid, and correspondence resumed.' (' Mr. Carr-Ellison's MSS.' p. 92)

1764, Oct. 26.—In a letter to Sam. Wentworth, esq., at Boston (who died in Sept. 1766), mention is made of the return of one son, H. Wentworth, who had been with Messrs. Carr, and given them great satisfaction, and of another son at Eton, who appears to have returned home in May, 1765. (Ibid. p. 94)

1765, July 23.—Mr. William Dunbar, of Thurso in Caithness, ' the son of a very reputable clergyman,' is strongly recommended for employment on going out to New York. (Ibid. p. 95).

1768, Apr. 29.—Mr. Ralph Inman is requested to make quest for ' a very unfortunate poor lady at Roxbury,' Lady Hesilrige, wife of the son [Robert] of Sir Arthur Hesilrige, who is enquired for by Mr. Jonathan Ormston, Sir Arthur's trustee, and who must make proof of her marriage. Also to interest himself on behalf of a poor woman of Newcastle, Hannah Nicholson, who has never received a legacy of £200 left her in 1763 by her son Edward Nicholson in Virginia and retained by one James Hunter there ; ' we are determined to be at any expense or trouble in order to procure her justice.' (Ibid. p. 95)

1768, Nov. 18.—Letter to Lady Hesilrige at Boston : 120*l.* to be paid to her as the interest due on the 500*l.* legacy from the death of her father[-in-law], Sir Arthur Hesilrige, and 20*l.* annually. ' I most sincerely lament that your unhappy situation and worth were not known before the death of Sir Arthur ; sure I am you and yours would have been provided for, but it is the hand of Providence, which is still able to conduct and assist you. No doubt you heard that Sir Arthur left his estate to the youngest of five sons, and even thought him very unworthy of it, and [I] doubt he has not been mistaken by the accounts I have of him. He is not yet of age ; when he is I pray God he may have an inclination equal to his ability to assist you. For your son, as he will have the title, ought to have the estate likewise. I had much talk with Mr. Ormston as to paying you in the 500*l.*, but this he apprehends cannot be done till your children are of age, but when they get an estate in this neighbourhood sold for the payment of legacies and the other sons' fortunes, he will consult the nobleman [lord Maynard] who was left joint trustee with him. (Ibid. p. 95)

1770, July 2.—Letter to James Hunter, Fredericksburgh, Virginia, demanding in the strongest terms payment of the legacy (mentioned under 1768) of which he has defrauded Hannah Nicholson. [Other letters follow on the subject; Hunter remitted money by instalments.] (Ibid. p. 95)

*Same date.*—Letter to Lady Hesilrige, urging her to send her eldest son over to England; he hopes the sight of him would warm lord Maynard (who is 80 years old) into compassion for the unmerited loss of his birthright. (Ibid. p. 95)

1771, Apr. 4.—Letter to Lady Hesilrige, congratulating her on the reception her son has met with from lord Maynard, who in letters to Mr. Ormston ‘expresses more of a parental fondness for him than my most sanguine wishes could even hope for.’ Enclosing a copy of a letter of thanks to lord Maynard, dated 30 March. [It is subsequently mentioned that the latter sent his young relation to school at Chiswick, and in April 1773 sent him to Calcutta. He died in the East Indies in 1805. Several original letters from Lady Hesilrige are preserved.] (Ibid. p. 95)

A letter from A[nne] Widdrington to Mrs. Carr at Bath, without date of year, is from the wife of the eldest son of the lord Widdrington who was attainted for his share in the same rising. The letter shows that in spite of forfeiture the son used his father’s title; the writer (who dates from Bond Street, Saturday, 7 Jan., possibly 1749) sends an invitation to a concert which ‘my lord’ has fixed for Monday, ‘23rd of this inst.’; he ‘hass invited all the company, and engagd the musical people; it will begin at twelve a clock . . . . It is to be at Turnham Green,<sup>1</sup> having no convinence for any sutch thing in Bond Street.’ (Ibid. p. 96)

1763.—A letter from a lady at Bath named A. Hollier to Mrs. Carr, dated 31 Jan. 1763, gives an account of a scene in an assembly room there which, although little creditable to those concerned, would seem of a kind which at that time was not infrequent. ‘They say Bath hath been very full this winter, but we have kept snug to our private parties, and gone very little to the rooms. Indeed, my sister went to the Queen’s birthday ball at Wiltshire’s rooms, which was in general esteemed a very good one; but at the close of it they cooked up a little sort of a riot: for the candles went out before twelve o’clock, the music went off in the middle of a dance, and left the company in the dark, who could by no means get the music again or a replenish of candles, or even a little negus to drink, tho’ they could prove the rooms cleared five and forty guineas by the subscription. Upon which one of the gentlemen said, he remembered upon such affronts as these it used to be custom to break the lustres and glasses; upon which hint there

<sup>1</sup> He died there, leaving no issue, in 1774.

was negus produced in plenty, and the gentlemen threw it all over the room, broke eight bowls, and went off in a rage, swearing there should never be another ball at those rooms; but Wiltshire having made proper submissions they have passed it by, and the balls go on there as usual. Collet had carried himself off before upon some affront he had received, of which he has had plenty this winter, and since that night hath resigned his office to one Derrick, a little Irishman, to whom they say the rooms are to allow fifty pounds a year. If that is the case, it is no hard matter to prognosticate what authority he will gain, and how far it will be attended to.' (Ibid. p. 97)

GRANT OF A CORRODY TO RICHARD LE SPICER BY HIS SON

6 Edward III. [1332].—Agreement whereby Henry Le Spicer and his wife Mary grant to Richard Le Spicer, father of the said Henry, a yearly rent of fifty shillings issuing from a tenement in Smytheford Street in Coventre, and further grant to the same Richard for his life a sufficiency of meat and drink at his own table like that provided for the grantors, and a fit place for his bed in the same grantors' own tenement, and fit clothes for the same bed, and a robe of fit cloth to be received by him yearly at St. Andrew's Feast with fit fur for an over-tunic, and in every second year a winter coat with a cap and suitable fur at the Feast of St. Michael, and a summer over-tunic at the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and also a yearly livery of two pairs of linen clothes and four pairs of list shoes, and six pairs of shoes. ('Coventry Corporation Records,' p. 137)

GRANT OF A CORRODY FOR LIFE IN THE PRIORY OF COVENTRE TO  
ALICE THE WIFE OF THOMAS DE RADEWEY

1335.—Agreement between Henry the Prior and the Convent of the cathedral church of Coventre of the one part, and Thomas de Radewey of Keresleye and his wife Alice, formerly the wife of Roger Locard, of the other part: whereby the said Thomas and Alice give to the said Prior and Convent certain lands etc., in the towns of Coventre, Coundeline and Radeford, and the said Prior and Convent grant in return to the said Alice for her life a corrody in their priory, viz., to receive daily 'unum panem album qui vocatur Michs et unam lagenam cerevisie conventualis,' etc., and also grant to her a place of abode in a cottage with a curtilage in St. Nicholas Street. (Ibid. p. 137)

PROVISION FOR SUCH AN OBIT AS WAS 'COMENLY USID FOR MEN  
OF WORSHIPE' IN COVENTRE

12 Henry VIII., October 6th [1520].—Indenture of an agreement between Thomas White, Master of the Guild of Corpus Christi and St. Nicholas and the brethren and sisters of the same Guild of the first part, and Letyse the widow and executrix of the testament of John Saunders late of Coventre, capper and alderman, and John Clerk,



grocer, and Nicholas Heynes, capper, overseers of the same testament, of the second part, and John Bonde, mayor, and the community of the City of Coventre of the third part, and Thomas Waren the Master and the brethren and sisters of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, etc., of the fourth part : Whereby the said Master brethren and sisters of the aforesaid Guild of Corpus Christi covenant that they will 'yerely for ever on the second day of the moneth of August cause an Obite to be kept in the parishe church of St. Mighell in the said Cite for the soules of the said John Saunders and Letyse, Agnes and Alice his wiffes, as is comenly usid for men of worshipe in the seid Cite, with *dirige* over nyghte and masse of the morowe with x preistes iii clerks and ii children, every prieste to have *iiia.*, every clerke *iid.* and every child a peny.' (Ibid. p. 147)

1527, March 22.—Agreement between Sir William Sandys, knight, Lord Sandys, Lord Chamberlain, and Walter Hungerford esquire, son and heir of Edward Hungerford knight, late deceased, for a marriage between the latter and Alice, one of the daughters of the former, before the feast of the Ascension. Walter Hungerford undertakes to settle manors and lands to the yearly value of 100*l.* Lord Sandys undertakes to pay 600 marks,<sup>1</sup> viz. 400 at the day of marriage, and 200 at Michaelmas following. He also undertakes to find meat and drink for such as shall happen to be at the marriage. He further undertakes to 'gyve to the saide Water for the daye of the saide maryage one gowne of crymson velwet and one other gowne of blacke velwet, one jacket of blacke velwet and one other jacket of blacke satten, one dublet of crymson satten and one other dublet of blacke satten,' and to give to his daughter for the day of the said marriage 'one gowne of crymson velwet and one other gowne of blacke velwet, one kirtyll of crymson sattyn and one other of blacke satten, and all other ornaments as to the hed of the said Alice for the said daye of mariage shall appertayne.' ('Earl of Radnor's MSS.' p. 162)

'For all this it fared with poor Longford<sup>2</sup> no otherwise then with that Dæmoniack, who after it had been exorcised was quickly repossessed by viler devils then formerly haunted it, for instead of soldiers of fortune, and some honest cavaliers, there were put in by order of Parliament a knavish committee of clowns of neither fortune nor understanding, who first pillaged the house of whatsoever the former guests had left, or could be torn from doors, or walls, or windows, and then moved the Parliament that the house should be slighted for being a dangerous place.

As the storms of civil dissension broke away, and our days cleared up by degrees, my Lord Coleraine, having weathered so many difficult points both as to law and conscience as had greatly impoverished his

<sup>1</sup> i.e. £400.

<sup>2</sup> Longford Castle, Salisbury.

estate (not only by the loss of great sums of money and chargeable law suits, but by his absence from his chief rents, his actual delinquency and sequestration, his being plundered both at Longford and Totteridge, and afterwards highly taxed and decimated for not taking covenants and engagements. After this, I say, his Lordship's desire and delight returned again for Longford, which for some years before he looked not to see again, but in rubbish, and then, like Nehemiah, he was impatient till he had begun a repair.

Revisiting this house (circa anno 1650) to see what his egregious tenants on both sides (agreed to prejudice him) had left behind, his Lordship was saluted with nothing but filthiness and desolation, except it were an infinite swarm of fleas, that pitched upon his white boot-hose, there was no other living creature left for him, who was forced to leave behind him (when he went out of the house) a gallant dairy of Dutch cows, a great flock of wethers, yards full of poultry, and barns stored with provisions, yet was he nobly satisfied, that (being his master and all true subjects had suffered so deeply) his condition was no worse, though I have often heard him say that he had lost 40,000*l.* sterling by the troublesome times, and had all his delights impaired not less than his estate.' (Ibid. p. 172)

*Litchfield*, co. Hants.—Among the persons named are Richard Kyngesmyll and John his son, 21 Hen. VII.

*Whitchurch*, co. Hants.—Among the persons named are John Kyngesmyll, serjeant-at-law, and Joan his wife, 13 Hen. VII.

*Hurst*, co. Berks.—Among the persons named are Adam, son of John de Kingesmille, 20 Edw. III. ; Adam Kyngesmulle of Bercham and Elizabeth his wife and William their son, 23 Edw. III. ; John Kyngesmyll and William his son and Joan his wife, daughter of John Dyk, 15 Ric. II. ; William Kyngesmyll, son and heir of John Kyngesmyll of Berkham, deceased, 7 Hen. V. ; Richard Kyngesmyll, gentleman, 21 Hen. VII.

*Barkham*, co. Berks.—Among the persons named are William de Nevile, lord of Bercham, John Kyngesmyll of Bercham ; Adam his son and Elizabeth his wife, 11 Edw. III. ; Richard Bernard of Erburghfeld, Christina his wife and Joan his daughter, A.D. 1384 ; Thomas Kyngesmyll, gentleman, son and heir of William Kyngesmyll of Bercham, deceased, and Richard Kyngesmyll, gentleman, his brother, 16 Edw. IV.

Settlement in prospect of a marriage between John Kyngesmyll, son and heir of Richard Kyngesmyll of Basingstoke, gentleman, and Joan daughter of John Gyffard of Ichyll co. Hants, 5 Hen. VII.

Licence from Richard, bishop of Winchester, to John Kyngesmyll and Joan his wife, of Frefolk, to have mass and other divine offices celebrated in a suitable place in their house or elsewhere in the diocese. 11 December 1501. ('Mr. Kingsmill's MSS.' p. 173)

## A FAMILY OF SOLDIERS

**E**ITHER from family tradition or from the natural bent of the race many English families have taken to themselves a calling which they have handed down as though the following of it were an hereditary obligation upon their descendants. We have families of the robe and the surplice, families of the gun and the saddle, families of sailors, soldiers, and parliamentarians. Indeed, there have been occasions when the administration of government in this country has been in the hands of a band of kinsmen.

Some illustrations of these hereditary callings or pursuits will be given from time to time in *The Ancestor*, and it may be hoped that they will represent an interesting side of popular genealogy.

Here we offer a chart pedigree of the soldiers of the family of Battye, a family sprung from Yorkshire yeomen, which in some three generations has bred a very Round Table of famous fighting men.





# SOLDIERS

Battye of Campden Hill, = Georgina Charlotte Wynyard,  
 Hlx., died 1849. A Cap- dau. of Lieut.-General William  
 the Loyal Britons Volun- Wynyard 1786-1860

Major-General Arthur Frederick  
 Battye born 1826. In Bombay  
 Staff Corps. *Indian Mutiny*, 1857-9

Major Montagu William Battye  
 1853-1897. East Lancashire  
 Regt. *Afghan War* 1878-80

Arthur Henry Battye born 1863. Capt.  
 Indian Staff Corps. *Burmese War*  
 1885-7. *Chin-Lushai Expedition* 1870.  
*Manipur* 1891. *Cbitral* 1895

Captain Charles  
 Forbes Battye born  
 1838. 33rd Bengal  
 Native Infantry

Major - General  
 Arthur Battye, C.B.  
 born 1839. *Oude*  
 1858. *Lucknow*,  
*North-West Frontier*  
 1864. *Hazara* 1868.  
*Lushai Expedition*  
 1871-72. *Afghan*  
*War* 1678 - 80.  
*Wounded at Canda-*  
*bar*

Major William Bat-  
 tye 1842 - 1879.  
 Corps of Guides.  
*Ajungurb, China*  
 1858. *Umbeyla*  
 1863. *Lundkhor*  
*Valley* 1866. *Afridi*  
*Campaign etc. Killed*  
*at head of the Guides*  
*Cavalry near Fellala-*  
*bad in Afghan War*  
*of 1879*

Major Legh Rich-  
 mond Battye 1845-  
 1888. 3rd Ghurkas  
*Afridi Campaign*  
 1877-8. *Killed on*  
*Black Mountain in*  
*the Hazara Expedi-*  
*tion* 1888

Lieut.-Col. Freder-  
 ick Drummond Bat-  
 tye 1847 - 1895.  
 Corps of Guides.  
*Afridi Expedition*  
 1877-78. *Afghan*  
*War* 1878-80. *Cap-*  
*ture of Ali Musjid.*  
*Hazara Expedition*  
 1891. *Killed in ac-*  
*tion at Cbitral* 1895

Richmond Moffat  
 Battye 1869-1897.  
 Lieut. 10th Lincoln-  
 shire Regt. after-  
 wards of 6th Bengal  
 Cavalry. *Killed in*  
*action on North-*  
*West Frontier*

Arthur Baldwin  
 Battye born 1872.  
 Capt. Indian Staff  
 Corps. *Cbitral Ex-*  
*pedition* 1895

Ivan Urmston Bat-  
 tye born 1875.  
 Lieut. Indian Staff  
 Corps

Hedley Morton Bat-  
 tye born 1876.  
 Lieut. Indian Staff  
 Corps





A GENEALOGIST'S KALENDAR OF  
CHANCERY SUITS OF THE TIME OF  
CHARLES I.

NO records are more fruitful in information for the genealogist than the records of proceedings in the Court of Chancery. Their great bulk makes it plain that a suit in Chancery was indulged in by almost every family of our law-loving people ; and it is making hardly too great a claim for these bills and answers and their accompanying depositions to assert that everybody's pedigree lies somewhere in these great deeps of parchment. From the bills and answers of the time of Charles I. a series of notes will appear in *The Ancestor*. These notes, although the nature of the suit will be mentioned in each case, will be selected for their genealogical value. From a branching pedigree of eight or ten generations to some hint of a hitherto unknown marriage or kinship any good fortune is possible to the pedigree maker who will dip in this abounding lucky-bag of genealogy.

A $\frac{1}{4}$  Bill (14 May 1647) of William Atlee the elder of Acton, co. Middlesex, yeoman, complainant.

Answer (20 May 1647) of George Lamploe of Little Yeelling [Ealing], yeoman, and Susan Watts, widow, defendant.

Concerning the estate of Roger Watts of Little Ealing, deceased, who died in October 1645, indebted to the complainant. He was husband of the defendant Susan, who is mother to the defendant George.

A $\frac{1}{2}$  Bill (11 Feb. 1640)<sup>1</sup> of Gilbert Armstronge of Rempston, co. Notts, esquire, complainant.

Answer ( . . . ) of Hugh Armstronge, clerk, defendant, parson of Thorpe in the Clotts, co. Notts.

Concerning the rectory of Thorpe to which the defendant was presented by (his father?) the father of the complainant. The complainant is his father's heir and exor. The defendant names his wife Frances.

<sup>1</sup> Throughout these extracts the dates remain in the old style, the year being reckoned as beginning upon the 25th March.

A $\frac{1}{3}$  Bill (2 Feb. 1645) of Hugh Allabye of Lymehouse in Stepney, co. Middlesex, gentleman.

Answer (16 Feb. 1645) of Thomas Whitbye, Thomas Hooper and Edward Tilsley.

Concerning a lease in Wapping, co. Middlesex. Thomas Whitbye is son and exor. of Elizabeth Whitbye of Wapping, widow. Thomas Hooper's wife Frances was party to a lease with him.

A $\frac{1}{4}$  Bill (8 Dec. 1645) of David Austyn of Framfeild, co. Sussex, gent.

Answer (7 Feb. 1645) of John Everest of Framfeild, yeoman.

Concerning a messuage called Stonebridge with its lands in Framfeild, which Richard Isted of Lewes, gent., and Anne his wife conveyed to the compt. by indenture dated 5 May 18 Car. I.

A $\frac{1}{5}$  Bill (3 Sep. 1645) of Sir William Acton of London, knight and baronet.

Answer (6 Sep. 1645) of Edward Greene (of Samford, co. Essex), esquire.

Concerning the manor of Waferers *alias* Staynes in Ashwell and Hinxworth in Herts and Bedfordshire, which were purchased by the defendant's grandfather about 23 years since, whose heir the defendant was. The defendant's daughter was married to Thomas Gerrard, son and heir apparent of Thomas Gerrard of Ince, co. Lanc., esquire.

A $\frac{1}{6}$  Bill (17 Nov. 1645) of John Adcoke of Kellishull [Kelshall], co. Herts, yeoman.

Answers (24 Nov. 1645) of Robert Frost, and (25 Nov. 1645) of James Willymott, gent., the elder, and James Willymott, gent., the younger, and (29 Nov. 1645) of Thomas Palmer and John Gladwin.

Concerning the estate of Robert Frost of Gilden Morden, co. Cambridge, yeoman, deceased, who made a will dated 4 Dec. 1626, leaving certain freeholds to his youngest son, the deft. Robert Frost, who was then under the age of 18 years. John Adcoke the compt. and John Adcoke his late father (brother-in-law to testator) and Henry Wood were the exors. He died shortly after, leaving Elizabeth his widow, who married within the year the defendant Thomas Palmer, and brought up her son Robert, who had his elder brother Matthew Frost for guardian.

A $\frac{1}{7}$  Bill (15 Nov. 1645) of Michael Askwith of Clifford's Inn, London, gent.

Answer (20 Jan. 1645) of Jane Bell and Joseph Bell.

Concerning the debts of William Bell late of Thirske, co. York, mercer, deceased. Jane Bell is his relict and Joseph Bell his son and administrator.

A $\frac{1}{8}$  Bill (20 Nov. 1645) of Thomas August of Huckinge, co. Kent, and Jane his wife.

Answer (21 Nov. 1645) of William Somers of Staplehurst.

Concerning the goods of Jane Somers, widow (late wife of Edward Somers of Staplehurst, co. Kent, and aunt of the complainant Jane August), who died about July last, having been married to the defendant after May 1642. In the body of the bill the complainant Jane is styled 'only daughter' of the said Jane Somers, but at the head of the bill the word is altered to 'niece.'

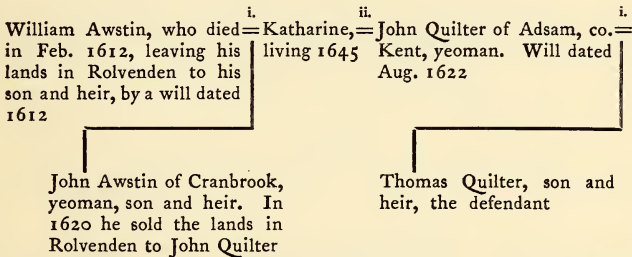
A $\frac{1}{9}$  Answer (25 Jan. 1645) of Peter Apsley, one of the defendants to a Bill of Mary Apsley, widow and extrix. of Arthur Apsley, deceased.

Concerning alleged loans by the said Arthur Apsley. The other defendants are Edward Apsley and Joan his wife. This defendant denies that the said Arthur, having received of Edward Chittenden, John Chittenden and Thomas Chittenden, or of Edward and Elizabeth Chittenden, their father and mother, 50% or thereabouts, did entrust the same to this defendant.

A $\frac{1}{10}$  Bill (27 Jan. 1644) of John Awstin of Cranebrooke, co. Kent, yeoman.

Answer (29 April 1645) of Thomas Quilter.

Concerning the will of John Quilter, deceased, father of the defendant. The complainant alleges that the defendant, whom he accused of having wasted a great part of his estate, should be forced to give some security for the performance of the said will.



A $\frac{1}{11}$  Bill (19 May 1645) of John Armstrong of Bethersden, co. Kent, yeoman.

Answer (5 June 1645) of John Dyne of Biddenden, gent., and James Bate-man of Bethersden, clothier.

Concerning a purchase of timber trees by the complainant.

A $\frac{1}{12}$  Bill (10 Feb. 1643) of Richard Annyon, citizen and cordwainer of London.

Demurrer (20 Feb. 1643) of John Sames, William Blythman and John Winch, churchwardens and sidesman of the parish of St. Brides.

Concerning disbursements by the complainant, a former churchwarden of St. Brides.



A $\frac{1}{18}$  Bill (9 May 1632) of John Apsey of East Coker, co. Somerset, yeoman, and Isatt his wife.

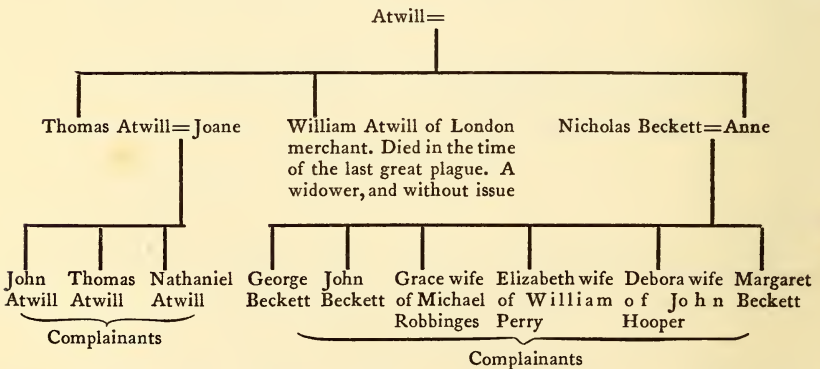
Answer (1 June 1632) of John Taylor and Thomas Taylor (father of the said John).

The complainant, about the year 2 Jac. I., was seised in fee of three messuages and certain lands at Eastfield in Chesselborough, co. Somerset, and was about to marry Isatt the other complainant, daughter of Thomas Hart of Ilminster, co. Somerset, clothier, with whom he was to have a portion of 200*l.* or upwards. By his deed of feoffment dated 29 Sept. 2 Jac. I. he enfeoffed William Hall of Ilminster, gent., and Thomas Taylor of West Coker, yeoman, of the said messuages and lands as a provision for the said Isatt and her issue by him. The suit is concerning a mortgage of the said jointure lands.

A $\frac{1}{14}$  Bill (13 Feb. 1631) of John Atwill of Weare Gifford, co. Devon, clerk, Thomas Atwill of Woodeburie, clerk, Nathaniel Atwill of Weare Gifford, yeoman, George Beckett of Barnstaple, apothecary, John Beckett of St. Clement Danes, co. Middlesex, tailor, Michael Robbings of Hanshew, co. Devon, and Grace his wife, William Perry and Elizabeth his wife, John Hooper and Debora his wife, and Margaret Beckett.

Answer (21 Feb. 1631) of Simon Howe of London, merchant (a defendant with Gilbert Howe).

Concerning the estate of William Howe of London, merchant, deceased, of whose will the said Simon Howe, who was his apprentice, is exor. It is alleged that alterations were made in the will by the said Simon. The will was dated 31 Aug. 1625.



A $\frac{1}{16}$  Bill (23 June 1631) of John Atwood, son of John Atwood late of Stanford Rivers, co. Essex, esquire, deceased, and exor. of Dorothy Atwood, one of the daughters of the said John Atwood and sister to the complainant.



A $\frac{1}{18}$  Bill (23 July 1631) of Robert Audley of Great Graunsden, co. Hunts, gent.

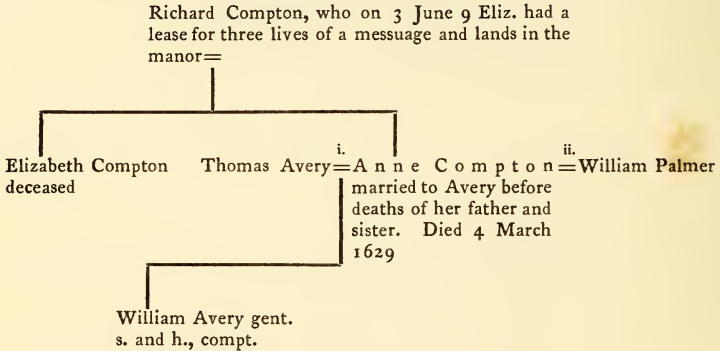
Answer (2 Aug. 1631) of Thomas Hasslefoote of London, vintner.

Concerning a mortgage made by complainant to defendant of part of the lands belonging to his manor of Great Graunsden.

A $\frac{1}{19}$  Bill (16 June 1631) of William Avery of Byshopps Itchington, co. Warwick, gent.

Answers (22 June 1631) of John Tolson, D.D., provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and Robert Forward, a fellow of the same College, and of Edward Ashworth, gent., William Clarke, gent., and William Busby, yeoman.

Concerning the customs of the manor of Shennyngeton, co. Glouc. The compt. declares that the provost of Oriel refused to admit him to a copyhold because his mother married one Palmer instead of John Webster, a servant of the College.



A $\frac{1}{20}$  Bill (21 Nov. 1646) of Ralph Ashe of Chesterfield, co. Derby, mercer, and George Ashe of the same town, butcher, exors. of the will of Godfrey Ashe of Chesterfield, shoemaker, their late brother, on behalf of themselves and of Ellen and Elizabeth and other children, sons and daughters of the testator.

Answer (18 Jan. 1646) of Frances Ashe, widow, Anthony Senyor and Francis Alsopp.

Alleged concealment by the defendants of the estate of Godfrey Ashe, deceased. The said Godfrey being a widower with the aforesaid children married the said Frances the defendant, who was then Frances Yeald, a widow with children of her own.

A $\frac{1}{21}$  Bill (16 March 1646) of John Atkins of St. Giles in the Fields, co. Middlesex, an infant, by Robert Iles of the same parish, mealman, his father-in-law and guardian.

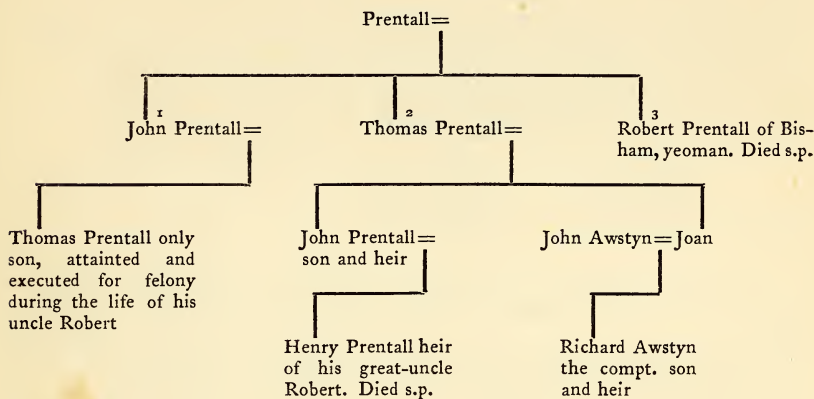
A fragment only concerning the estate of John Banfield of St. Martin's in the Fields, citizen and draper of London, who made a will 22 March 1635, and died within a week of that date, leaving Anne Banfield his widow.



A $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{1}{2}$  Bill (30 Jan. 1632) of Richard Awstyn of Cookham, co. Berks, yeoman.  
 Answer (2 Feb. 1632) of Rowland Hynde, esq., a defendant.

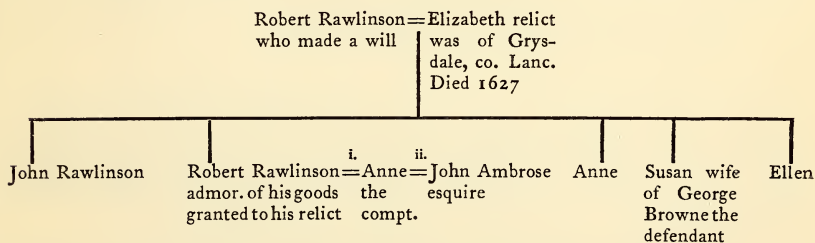
Answer (5 Feb. 1632) of John Austen and Rowland Hedger, two of the defendants.

Concerning the lands called Somes, which Robert Prentall of Bisham, yeoman, deceased, held as copyhold of the manor of Cookham. Claim of the complainant as heir of the said Robert Prentall.



A $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{1}{3}$  Bill (12 May 1632) of John Ambrose of Lowicke, co. Lanc., esquire, and Anne his wife.

Answer (6 Oct. 1632) of George Browne of Trowtbeck, co. Lanc., yeoman.  
 Claim to a share of the personal estate of Elizabeth Rawlinson, widow, deceased, of which the defendant was administrator.



A $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{1}{4}$  Bill (28 June 1641) of Grace Abbot, widow, late the wife of Abraham Abbot of Hawkedon, co. Suffolk, gent., deceased, and William Everard of Hawkedon, yeoman, her servant.

Answer (20 Oct. 1641) of John Halls, Robert Halls and John Halls.

Concerning a claim to the rents of a messuage and lands called Lynnes in Poslingford, co. Suffolk, during the minority of Robert Halls, the devisee under the will of Thomas Goulding, deceased.



Answer (28 June 1641) of John Aynscombe (a defendant with Abraham Aynscombe his father).

Concerning a messuage and lands in Retherfeild, which John Aynscombe, father of the said Abraham, is said to have granted, by deed dated 1 Feb. 43 Eliza., to remain to the said Abraham for his life, with remainder to the defendant John, eldest son of the said Abraham.

$A\frac{1}{29}$  Bill (31 May 1641) of George Abbott of Caldecot, co. Warw., gent. Answer (21 Oct. 17 Car. I.) of Thomas Levinge, gent., and Ralph Farmer.

Concerning leases made by Edward Cokayne late of Pooley, co. Warw., esquire, of messuages and lands in his lordship of Baddesley Ensor and the commons of the said manors. The defendant Thomas is son of Francis Levinge, gent.

$A\frac{1}{80}$  Bill (19 June 1632) of William Arundell of Helaugh in Swaildale, co. York.

Answer (22 Sep. 1632) of John Lonsdaile and George Lonsdaile.

Answer (27 April 1633) of Jeffrey Lonsdaile, father of the said John and George, an old and decrepit man.

Concerning a messuage and lands in Helaugh, which the compt. alleges to have been settled by his great-grandfather Anthony Arundell, by deed of feoffment dated 12 Eliza., upon James Arundell, the compts. father.

$A\frac{1}{81}$  Bill (5 May 1630) of William Alabaster, esquire, D.D.

Demurrer (18 May 1630) of Arthur Knight of London (defendant with Barnard Hide of London, merchant).

Concerning a debt of one Thomas Warwick, esquire, for which the compt. became a surety in the year 1618.

$A\frac{1}{82}$  Bill (9 Nov. 1629) of John Anderton the elder of Buckland Monachorum, co. Devon, yeoman.

Answers (8 Jan. 1629) of Joan Lawrye, Thomas Corter, Elizabeth Anderton, widow, and Richard Ludbrooke *alias* Douriche, and (11 Jan. 1629) of Thomas Fownes, merchant, and Lawrence Andrewe.

Concerning a lease of a tenement called Yeland by William Crymes, esq., late of Buckland Monachorum, made (40 Eliza.) to the complainant, Richoard or Richard, his wife and William his brother. The defendant Elizabeth is relict of William Anderton the brother. John Anderton and William Anderton are named as father and uncle to the compt.

$A\frac{1}{83}$  Bill (15 Nov. 1631) of Simon Adam of Hadstock, co. Essex, son and heir of Simon Adam the elder, late of Horseath, co. Cambridge, yeoman, deceased.



Answer (23 Nov. 1631) of Thomas Wakefield of Horseath, co. Cambridge, clerk.

Concerning loans of money made by Thomas Wakefield of Horseheath, clerk, father of defendant, to the two Simon Adams. Simon the elder died within seven years past and his widow was his extrix. The defendant is his father's heir and exor. John and Robert Adam are brothers of the compt.

A $\frac{1}{34}$  Bill (16 Feb. 1630) of Richard Attwell of Walkhampton, co. Devon, gentleman.

Answer (29 Sep. 1631) of Thomas Attwell and John Attwell (defendants with Richard Bruen of Tavistock, gent.).

Concerning a reversion in fee simple which the said Bruen had in a tenement in Walkhampton, now in possession of the defendant Thomas Attwell, brother of compt., and whereof Joan Atwell, widow, mother of the compt. and of the defendants Thomas and John, had a lease on 27 Sep. 11 Jac. I., for the lives of the said Thomas and John and of Grace Attwell, dau. of the compt., which lease was granted by the father of the other defendant Bruen.

A $\frac{1}{86}$  Bill (15 April 1630) of William Abell, citizen and vintner of London.

Answer (26 April 1630) of Joane Averill and Par Bettye and Eleanor his wife.

Concerning a lease of a windmill in Whitechapel. Joane Averill names her late husband Owen Hore who died intestate about ten years since, whereupon she took out letters of administration of his goods. In 1625 she granted the residue of the lease to the other defendants.

A $\frac{1}{86}$  Bill (24 Oct. 1631) of Sir Thomas Awbrey of Lantrithed, co. Glamorgan, knight.

Answer (2 Nov. 1631) of Richard Seys, esquire, son and heir of Roger Seys, deceased.

Concerning a messuage and land in Pendoylon, co. Glamorgan, of which John Thomas Bassett, esquire, about sixty years since, made a lease to Rowland Richard of Pendoylon, yeoman, Mallte his wife and John their son, for the term of their lives. John Thomas Bassett conveyed the reversion to Elizabeth Bassett his daughter and to her heirs, which Elizabeth married Anthony Maunsell, esq., and with him conveyed the same amongst other manors and lands to the use of themselves for life, with remainder to complainant for life, with remainder to their daughter Mary the complainant's wife and the heirs of her body by the complainant. Rowland Richard and his son dying, the said Mallte married John Phillippe, clerk. John Phillippe, after the death of Mallte, took a new lease, 10 Dec. 16 Jac. I. from the compt. and his wife Mary, to himself and to William John his son and Didvill his wife.

A $\frac{1}{37}$  Bill (6 June 1646) of Edward Apsley of Worminghurst, co. Sussex, esquire.

Demurrer (17 June 1646) of Hugh Over of Grays Inn, gent., defendant.

Concerning a writ upon a statute merchant of 600*l.* acknowledged by Richard Higgons of Berry, co. Sussex, esquire, decd., and Edward Higgons of Grays Inn, esquire, his son, to the defendant, upon which writ the compt. as sheriff of Sussex in 1640 seized the body of the said Edward Higgons, from whom the compt. received 330*l.* which he paid to the defendant.

A $\frac{1}{58}$  Replication ( ) of William Anger, John Hand, Thomas Fowler and Thomas Rayner, complainants, to the answer of Edward Heward, William Humphrey, Robert Langford, George Hopkings, Francis Langford, John Chevell, Thomas Ashton, Richard Bent, Thomas Gotobed and William Ingrey, defendants.

A $\frac{1}{59}$  Replication ( ) of Sir Robert Anstrudder, Sir William Anstrudder, Sir Thomas Dashinton, Doctor Chambers, Doctor Ramsey, Patrick Ramsey, George Graden and Margaret his wife, David Forrett, David Ramsey, Andrew Heatley, Robert Leshley, Alexander Dixon, Robert More and Duncan Mantoe, replicants to the answer of George Kirke and Roger Ramsey, defendants.

A $\frac{1}{60}$  Answers (13 May 1645) of Roger Kirkham, esquire, and William Collins, gent., two of the defendants to the bill of William Adames, complainant. Concerning a lease of messuages and a wharf near Rotherhithe, in St. Mary Magdalen's parish.

A $\frac{1}{41}$  Bill (8 June 1646) of John Allen of Gosport, co. Southampton, gent. Answer (20 June 1646) of Edward Capell *alias* Capewell (a defendant with his wife).

Concerning malt which the defendant and his wife, maltsters in Gosport, supplied to complainant, who three years since bought a brewhouse in Gosport, 'being a young beginner in that trade.' Which malt the complainant urges was 'eaten up with wibbs and very full with wibbs and full of hallow huskes and dust.'

A $\frac{1}{42}$  Bill (9 May 1646) of Henry Allen of Northampton, mercer. Answer (29 May 1646) of Thomas Purcell of London, draper. Concerning money matters.

A $\frac{1}{43}$  Bill (6 May 1630) of John Astell of Warmeington, co. Warwick, yeoman.

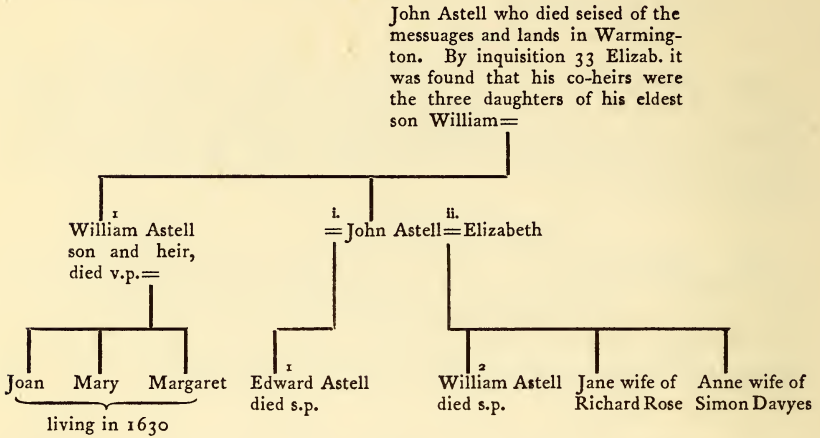
Answer (24 May 1630) of Richard Rose and Jane his wife and Simon Davyes and Anne his wife.

Concerning two messuages and lands in Warmington.

A $\frac{1}{44}$  Bill (1 June 1646) of Thomas Aylett the elder of Hovells in Great Coggeshall, co. Essex, gent.

Answers (5 June 1646) of Richard Gray and Randolphe Willey.

Concerning the deeds of certain leasehold lands in Coggeshall belonging to complainant, which he alleges to have been left in the hands of Thomas Gray of Coggeshall, clothier, who died ten years since. The defendant Gray is his son and admor.



A $\frac{1}{45}$  Bill (1 June 1646) of George Arnold *alias* Cooper of Cranfeild, co. Bedford, and Henry Arnold *alias* Cooper of the same, yeomen.

Answers (8 Oct. 1646) of Richard Jones, gent., William Furr, and Thomas Butler (son and heir of Henry Butler, decd.).

Concerning money matters and certain copyhold lands which the compt. George surrendered to use of Henry Butler of Islington, co. Bedford, yeoman. The compts. allege a nuncupative will of the said Henry, made 10 Aug. 1643, by which he made his wife Anne his extrix., and gave legacies to complainants. Anne Butler is another defendant to this suit.

A $\frac{1}{46}$  Bill (9 Feb. 1646) of Thomas Atkins of Hanbeck, co. Lincoln, gent., Thomas Yonge of Sturton in Stowe and Anne his wife, late wife and administratrix of William Atkins of Sturton, deceased.

Answer (30 Apr. 1647) of Edward Eastland, William Johnson and Jonathan Ashton.

Concerning a loan to the said William Atkins in June 1641, and a mortgage of the manor of Sturton. The said Thomas Atkins and Anne Yonge were his exors.

A $\frac{1}{47}$  Bill (3 July 1644) of Robert Austin of London, merchant.

Answer (11 July 1644) of Dorothy Osborne, widow (a defendant with



William Osborne her son and co-exor. with him of the will of John Osborne of London, merchant, her late husband).

Concerning alleged dealings in Colchester says and serges. William Osborne is a minor, an apprentice to a merchant, a Mr. Ent.

A $\frac{1}{48}$  Bill (11 Feb. 1646) of James Apsley, esquire, a son of Sir Allen Apsley, knight, deceased, by Dame Lucy his late wife, and George Hutchinson, esquire, and Barbara his wife, one of the daughters of the said Allen and Lucy.

Answers (25 Feb. 1646) of Sir Job Harby, knight, and (1 March 1646) of Sir John Jacob, knight, and (6 Mar. 1646) of Sir John Nulls, knight, (defendants with Sir Nicholas Crispe, knight).

Concerning the office of Custos Brevium of the Common Pleas, the reversion of which was designed by the king to the said Sir Allen, and he dying, the king directed that the reversion should be granted to William Apsley, esquire, for the benefit of the children of the said Allen and Lucy—namely of Allen, William, Lucy, James and Barbara. Sir John St. John and Sir Edward Hungerford are named as ‘brothers’ of the said Dame Lucy. The complainants claim their portion of the proceeds.

A $\frac{1}{49}$  Further answers (21 May 1646) of Thomas Falthropp and Elizabeth Falthropp, defendants to the bill of Phinees Andrew, Thomas Andrew and Jonathan Andrew, complainants.

Concerning a lease of lands in [ ] made to the said Elizabeth.

A $\frac{1}{50}$  Bill (21 Nov. 1646) of George Apsley of Benenden, co. Kent, yeoman.

Answer (2 April, 1647) of Richard Crier of Benenden, miller (defendant with John Robins).

Concerning a mortgage of lands in Benenden.

## EDITORIAL NOTES

THE modern revival of interest in genealogy, heraldry and antiquities must be the excuse, if any be needed, for introducing to the public a review in which these subjects are to be dealt with in the spirit of the new criticism. The want of a recognized guide in these fields of study has been felt for a long time, and it is hoped that *The Ancestor* may prove its claim to be regarded as the central authority on all the subjects that come within its scope.

\* \* \*

In order to justify its claim to be the guide on matters genealogical and heraldic *The Ancestor* will afford space for correspondence, and will, as far as possible, answer questions and give advice upon subjects with which this review is concerned.

\* \* \*

There are very few subjects, if any, on which wilder statements are made and accepted than that of family antiquity, as indeed is seen in our pages devoted to 'What is Believed.' But it must be admitted that there is some excuse for this condition of things in the absence of any authoritative guide to the names of our oldest families. We propose therefore, in a series of articles entitled 'Our Oldest Families,' to deal in a systematic manner with those of which the pedigree can be traced so far back as the twelfth century. Our readers, meeting constantly—in the press—with families which 'came over with the Conqueror,' may wonder why we select a date so late as the close of the twelfth century. But those acquainted with Mr. Round's article on 'The Companions of the Conqueror' (*Monthly Review*, June, 1901) will have learnt how infinitesimally small is the number of those who can find their ancestor even in Domesday Book (1086). Among them are the houses of Gresley and FitzGerald, of which we speak in the present number. In our next issue we hope to begin the regular series we have in view with the Tichbornes of Tichborne and the family of Wake.

The study of local history is likely to receive a great impetus from the publication of the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. Up to the present time there has been, it is true, no lack of activity among local students in many of the counties ; but unfortunately much of the energy shown has been misdirected owing to the want of organized effort. Individual workers have time after time traversed the same ground, and not infrequently has an enthusiastic but misguided student laboured for months or even years on documents which are already in print. Local archæological and record societies rarely receive the support they are entitled to, and consequently anything like a serious attempt to deal with those classes of records which must be the foundation of local history has been made exceedingly difficult. It is all the more creditable to some of the county societies, that in the face of popular indifference, they have published many of their local records in a manner rivalling in excellence the work of the Public Record Office.

\* \* \*

Organization, and especially well organized co-operation among local students and experts, must be made the foundation of topographical undertakings in the future. It will be interesting to note how far the organization of the *Victoria History* will meet the hopes and expectations of the editors. Judging by the reviews in the press the scheme of co-operation has been successful in the volumes issued up to the present. These only touch the fringe of history, and therefore barely come within our scope. But in the volumes yet to follow for each of the histories which have been begun—*Hampshire, Norfolk, Worcester, Cumberland, Hertford, Surrey, and Northampton*—there will be much matter of interest to the readers of *The Ancestor*. The scheme for dealing with genealogy will be particularly worthy of attention, and we shall hope to give some details of it in a future number.

\* \* \*

We hope to deal at some length, as soon as it has been decided, with the Lord Great Chamberlain case which is now before the Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords. We understand that in preparing the case for the Crown the Treasury has been greatly assisted by the very exceptional and extensive knowledge which Mr. J. Horace Round has placed at its disposal.



The trustees of the late Sir William Fraser have decided to devote a portion of the funds at their disposal to the preparation of a revised edition of Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*. Lyon King of Arms is taking an active interest in the scheme, and it is proposed to entrust the account of each family to a specially qualified writer.

\* \* \*

The approaching coronation will have an effect that has not been generally realized on the peerage of Ireland. In accordance with precedent it has been announced that only those who have proved their right to vote at elections for representative peers for Ireland can attend the coronation as peers. As there are cases in which this right has never yet been proved attention will now be called to them.

\* \* \*

In spite of the prominence given beforehand, both officially and in the press, to the Court of Claims, the proceedings before that august body did not possess much interest for the genealogist or the antiquary. This was largely due to the fact that all claims to do service at the coronation banquet, or to walk in the procession, were excluded, owing to the abandonment of both these portions of the ceremony. The 'services' in the Abbey itself are but few, the most important being that of supporting the king's right arm at the time of his coronation, and of presenting him with a glove, embroidered with arms, to be worn on his right hand at the same time. This represents a very ancient tenure 'by grand serjeanty' of the manor of Farnham Royal, which was first held by the Verdons and afterwards by the Furnivals. The latter family exchanged it with Henry VIII. for lands at Worksop, stipulating that this honourable service should be transferred to their new estate. From them it descended through heiresses to the Talbots and the Howards, with the result that at recent coronations the right to perform the service has been vested in the Dukes of Norfolk.

\* \* \*

In the course however of the late reign, the Worksop property, for the first time, changed hands by purchase, being sold by the Duke of Norfolk to the Duke of Newcastle. The present Duke of Newcastle therefore claimed to perform the service, but his claim was somewhat unexpectedly opposed by

the Earl of Shrewsbury, mainly on the ground that the lands in right of which the service is performed had been parted with in morsels. Mr. Lindsay, K.C., who appeared for the duke, was able to show that the duke was in possession of the lands named in the charter of Henry VIII., and his Grace's claim was successful. The interesting point about it is that the service is now ascertained to be appurtenant to Worksop Priory lands, and not, as had always been supposed, to the lordship of the manor of Worksop.

\* \* \*

More complicated were the claims to carry the great gilt spurs at the crowning. 'The battle of the spurs' is an old dispute, and led to a keen contest before the Court at the coronation of James II. (1685). On the present occasion the claims were those of the Earl of Loudoun and Lord Grey de Ruthyn as respectively the eldest and a younger co-heir of the Lords Grey de Ruthyn, in whose favour the Court had decided in 1685, and whose ancestor, Lord Grey de Ruthyn, had carried the spurs at the coronation of Henry IV., so far back as 1399. A third claimant was Lord Hastings, in favour of whose family the barony had been called out of abeyance in 1841, although none of their ancestors had borne the title for some 450 years! It was boldly argued for Lord Hastings by Mr. Lindsay that the carrying of the spurs was 'a privilege attending on a dignity,' the dignity being that of Lord Hastings, which had been wrongfully assumed by the Lords Grey de Ruthyn, and in virtue of which they had carried the spurs. The court was so far influenced by this argument that, in spite of the long discharge of the service by the Lords Grey de Ruthyn, they refused to decide in favour of any of the claimants, and referred the matter to the king's pleasure. All the claimants traced their right to John Hastings Earl of Pembroke, whose right to carry the spurs was recognized in 1377; but it can hardly be doubted that he really derived it, not from his paternal ancestors, but through the family of Valence, from the Marshals Earls of Pembroke, John (the) Marshal having carried the spurs as far back as 1189, doubtless as Master *Maréchal* and therefore Master of the Horse.

\* \* \*

In the next issue of *The Ancestor* certain swords from the celebrated collection of Mr. Morgan Williams will be pictured

and described with the help of Mr. Guy Laking. An article upon the armorial insignia of English corporations will appear at the same time ; but from the point of view of the student of English heraldry the most important subject which future numbers of *The Ancestor* will deal with will be the ancient heraldry, monumental and decorative, preserved in the Abbey of Westminster, of which a series of notable illustrations will be afforded.



# THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

DESIGNED AS A PERMANENT MEMORIAL TO  
HER LATE MAJESTY

## QUEEN VICTORIA

WHO IN HER LIFETIME GRACIOUSLY GAVE THE TITLE TO AND  
ACCEPTED THE DEDICATION OF THE HISTORY

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The VICTORIA HISTORY is a National Historic Survey compiled under the direction of a large staff comprising the foremost students in science, history and archaeology, and is designed to record the history of every county of England in detail.

This work was approved by our late Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, who graciously gave it her own name.

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## A POPULAR ACCOUNT OF THE VICTORIA HISTORY

WHEN this great series of the County Histories was first planned the approval of our late Sovereign Lady was sought and gained, the Queen became patroness of the work, watching its growth with interest and giving it her own name as the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. By her orders a set of the whole series was to be reserved for the royal library at Windsor, and to her memory the work is inscribed in the hope that it may prove a worthy memorial of her illustrious reign.

That reign saw the beginning of many great literary enterprises whose monumental scale sets them amongst national achievements. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, whose additional volumes are closing with the biography of the great Queen, is a work of which no nation has seen the fellow; and the *English Dictionary*, now midway in its labours, stands a tall head and shoulders above the nearest of its foreign rivals.

But vast as these undertakings may be the *Victoria History* competes with them in friendly rivalry. Its bulk is the least of its claims, but the fires of Peking, which burned the sole perfect copy of the half-mythical Chinese Encyclopædia, have made an end of the one book which could compare with it in size. The complete History itself marshals a hundred and sixty volumes, and to these are added the supplementary volumes containing the pedigrees of the county families, so that it will be seen that it is almost a library in itself for those who desire the complete series, rather than a book which is in the course of making.

Such a neglected study has been the history of our own towns and fields that it may be well that the public should learn what county history should be. And yet from the seventeenth century to the earlier years of the century now gone by many score tall folios and fat quartos of county history came through the press, among the most noteworthy being those of *Surrey* by Manning and Bray, Eyton's *Shropshire*, Nichols' *Leicestershire*, Hutchins' *Dorsetshire*, and Blomfield's *Norfolk*. As a rule however, for all but the determined antiquary or grubber of pedigrees, the county history of the past has been for the most part too dull for general perusal. Still, old and new, county histories have one



quality in common, that their buyer acquires a sound property upon a rising market. In the words of *The Times* describing the *Victoria History*—

‘Everybody knows what sort of a book was the normal old-fashioned county history. It was commonly the work of one man, laborious in the extreme, praiseworthy, decorous and dull. It ran to three or four immense volumes, with steel plates of churches and gentlemen’s seats, good maps according to the lights of those days, and a good index. Sometimes, as in a few of the Yorkshire histories, a factitious value was lent to the books by the drawings specially made by Turner, which soared as high above reality as the prose of the author sank below it. But the real fault of the county history of this type was that the local aspect of things was not presented in its proper relation to the history of the country as a whole. The spirit in which the book was written was too commonly the spirit of the topographer. Every local unit remained a unit; the writer, as a rule, had his county or his township so much before his eyes that he paid no attention to the wider aspects of the national life. Nor was it possible that the idea of development, which is the root idea of the modern historian, could take any great place in the older local histories. Probably many excellent local historians of to-day would be guilty of the same faults if they were left to do their work alone; but the organization of the *Victoria History* is such as to prevent this.

What County History may be, in the hands of no one man, but in the hands of a national company of scholars, the *Victoria County History* sets forth to prove. That the story it has to tell should be dull is heresy for an Englishman to believe; that it is, as a fact, far from being dull, a glance at the volumes of the *Victoria History* already published will convince the greatest sceptic.’

Nowadays we are a restless people, ever on the move, for the most part regarding a seven years’ lease as chaining us unduly to a house. Many a man does not know the very name of his great-grandfather, and whence that remote ancestor may have come is as obscure as the origin of the Aryans. Having no tie of place or blood such a man may reasonably contend that the discovery of his own pedigree, though it were for thirty generations back, would move him no more than any other string of names. Yet could we present before him that pedigree in flesh and blood—could he see his grandfather in high stock and hessians, his great-grandfather in powdered hair and top-boots, his great-great-grandfather in ruffled cuffs, bob-wig and three-cornered hat, and even the first of his name—franklin, yeoman, or Piers the Plow-

man, surely the liveliest interest and the most human would be awakened as he saw pass before him these forefathers in their habit as they lived, as when the spark of his own life was in their breasts.

So then with our histories. A man's interest in his land, in his native county, in the corner of England which chance has brought him to dwell in may be all too sound asleep to be awakened by a pedant's string of names and dates, but it is there to awaken when the past story of town and field is brought to him as a living thing coloured in all its strange and many hues.

To know how and in what manner his crowded city grew up from a line of straggling cottages round some industry reckoned a little thing in its beginning, how his county town, dozing through a week broken only by the rustic chatter of market day, was once a point towards which the merchants from far countries came with bales of outlandish merchandise along the packhorse roads—this where a half-dozen farmers' traps come in our day—this is surely knowledge which is good company for a man to carry with him in his daily round.

This land, now sheep pasture, was open sea in days of which County History will tell us, and on the hillside far inland are stones which were a quay to which Roman galleys were moored. This high country dotted with villas was the great forest in whose secret places the strange rites of wood-devils were celebrated. This cornland was marsh and mere, the home of pike and waterfowl, and where the mound is at the village end was a castle with inner and outer bailey, keep and drawbridge, the nest of an evil man of foreign speech who oppressed the stubborn English until in full stream of fortune he broke himself against the king's power, a clay pot against a brass pot. Where the duke's towers are to-day there was once a charcoal burner's hut, and where Hodge has his thatched cottage on the down a great Roman proconsul had his villa with its libraries, its baths and hypocausts, its hall with seagods in tesseræ colouring the floor and the loves of Apollo upon the painted walls.

Such a story as this might be dull in the telling, but the *Victoria County History* relies upon no one man's pen, and it is not too much to say that no such body of scholars and specialists has ever been mustered before for a national work.

After what fashion the *Victoria History* will follow its task may be estimated when we consider the roll of distinguished men who are at work for it.

The history of each county begins with its geology. The story of the formations which have become England are told by the members of His Majesty's Geological Survey.

The description of English flora and fauna are exhaustive and accurate. From the forests of the coal period to the weeds last arrived in our hedgerows, from the mammoth to the brown rat which lately drove out our native black rat, our birds, beasts, fishes and insects, herbs and forest trees find describers amongst a group of editors including every name of the first rank amongst students of Natural History.

Coming at last to man and his work, Mr. Boyd Dawkins, the well known author of *Early Man in Britain*, is the general editor of those chapters of the history which deal with the history of man in our island in the remote days before the coming of Romans or Anglo-Saxons.

England can never forget that she was once a province under the Roman power, for over the country still runs the network of roads which grew up in the wake of the Roman eagles, the Roman tile is in most of our ancient walls, and some fragment of toy or tool from Roman hands is turned wherever the ploughshare runs. Great care therefore has been spent upon the section of the history relating to Roman England, which is directed and edited by Mr. Haverfield, whose name stands for the archæology of Roman England amongst antiquaries all over the world.

Anglo-Saxon remains are dealt with by Mr. C. Hercules Read, of the department of Antiquities at the British Museum, and by his assistant, Mr. Reginald Smith.

Ethnography is in the hands of Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, well known by his work for the Folk-lore Society ; and the dialects, so fast disappearing before the face of the School Board, are treated of by Mr. Joseph Wright, the Editor of the Great Dictionary of the English dialects.

There are those for whom English history begins with King William the Conqueror and Domesday Book. The smatterer in antiquities is wont to nourish a belief that Domesday Book is a record easily to be construed although a trifle dull withal ; the more advanced antiquary or historian knows Domesday Book for a maze of puzzles and pitfalls, but a record which has not its fellow in the deep interest it holds for English people. Amongst the names of the skilled interpreters of Domesday Book that of Mr. Horace Round stands eminent, and from his hand come the articles upon Domesday Book and its kindred records which will appear in each of the Histories.

In no point will the *Victoria Histories* contrast more notably with the histories that came before them than in the care with which the story of our national buildings is set forth. The history and description of castles and houses, walled towns, cathedrals, abbeys and churches is



under the supervision of a large committee of students of architectural history from Mr. George Fox, who speaks with authority of the Roman work, to Mr. Gotch, whose name is so familiar by reason of his brilliant studies upon the English Renaissance in architecture.

Mr. St. John Hope, whose researches into ancient architecture have left little untouched from the beehive hut to Sir Christopher's dome, edits the section dealing with the cathedrals and monastic remains, and directs the making of the coloured ground plans which show the growth and architectural history of the greater buildings.

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The greater part of the volumes of each county will contain the history of the English parishes, the sum of which is the history of the county. The parish and its beginnings, its church and its memorials, the story of its manors and of their lords, of its ancient and interesting buildings, the story of that change in the face of things which once so slow seems in our day to be hurrying the land towards a time when England will be an island town inlaid with market gardens. For this, the most important share of our work, the *Victoria History* has the help of nearly every English historian or antiquary, and in its pages will be found the results of many men's lifework of scholarly labour and research. Yet it is not upon such collections alone that the parish histories are based. The vast records of the nation—records which for bulk and interest excel those of all other peoples—are being systematically searched by a staff of skilled workers, assisted by a Records Committee headed by the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records and the Director of the British Museum.

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At a price and under conditions of purchase which allow the history of his own county to find a place on the bookshelf of every Englishman who buys books, and to set the whole work within reach of the least endowed of provincial public libraries, the *Victoria History* cannot fail, owing to its wide interests and deep educational value, to take its place amongst the greatest of the familiar and trusted books of reference.

Such a work as the *Victoria History* may be amplified in detail; indeed it is hoped that the great work will be the fruitful mother of much local archæological study. But the vastness of its conception and the accuracy of its detail will make it stand whilst black ink and sound rag-paper endure, a national record and a landmark in our history.

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